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## BENNET ALLEN, FIGHTING PARSON .

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### I

It was late in the year 1766 that a young but slightly worn clergyman arrived in Annapolis.<sup>1</sup> He was the Reverend Bennet Allen, M. A. of Oxford and fellow of Wadham College, whose subsequent career was to create a stir in Maryland.<sup>2</sup> Although he claimed to be "nearly allied to some of the wealthiest and best families in England"<sup>3</sup> little is known of his background except that he belonged to a respectable clerical family<sup>4</sup> but gossip soon displayed him in a more exotic light. He was suspected of being "a spurious Son of ye late L<sup>d</sup> Baltimore" while it was reported that his sister Elizabeth who accompanied him "is a Sister to him as Sarah was to Abraham."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the time of his arrival he was about 29, *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886*, arranged by Joseph Foster (Oxford, 1888), 4 vols., I, 16. He was already bald, Ms Statement of the quarrel between Allen and Samuel Chew, Dulany Papers, I, 24, Maryland Historical Society. Materials in the Society's Library will hereafter be cited as MHS. He was subject to attacks of gout. Allen to Lord Baltimore, May 3, 1765, Calvert Papers, 1296, MHS.

<sup>2</sup> B. A. 1757; fellow 1759; M. A. 1760, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, I, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Bennet Allen, *An Address to the Vestrymen, Church-Wardens and Parishioners of All Saints, Frederick County; Wherein the Author's Conduct is explained and his Character vindicated from the Aspersions thrown upon it in the Maryland Gazette* (Philadelphia, 1768), p. 6. Hereafter cited as Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*.

<sup>4</sup> He was the son of James Allen "of Yazor, Co. Hereford, Cler." *Alumni Oxoniensis*, loc. cit. His brother, a Balliol man, was chaplain to the Duke of Montague and "with an Estate in Expectancy." *Ibid.*, p. 17; *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-), XXXII, 417. Hereafter this series will be cited as *Archives*.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Jonathan Boucher to Rev. Mr. James, March 9, 1767, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, VII (1913), 341. Boucher later reported that Allen had "insolently Lorded it over ye best People here, on Acc't of ye supposed superiority of his own Family." Same to same, November 26, 1768, *ibid.*, VIII, 35.

Although Allen was ordained a priest in 1761<sup>6</sup> he had not held a living before he came to Maryland. He was said to have settled in London where he was patronised by "leaders of society of doubtful reputation" and "apparently obtained a livelihood . . . by pandering in the press to the fashionable vices of the age."<sup>7</sup> In 1761 he published *A Poem inscribed to his Majesty*, concerning which a contemporary reviewer wrote, "The adulation of the King and Queen is so gross and unmanly, that we are ashamed to see such vile, fawning and slavish flattery, flow from the pen of a free born Briton."<sup>8</sup> Two volumes of verse appeared in 1764 but these also were received unenthusiastically by the reviewers. Of *A Poem on the Peace* one writer said ". . . here are verses that are enough to make a dog howl to hear them!"<sup>9</sup> while another characterized them as "so contemptible, that the best thing we can do is to assign them to eternal oblivion."<sup>10</sup> His other effort, *The Satirical Trifles, Consisting of an Ode written on the first Attack of the Gout—To Mankind, an Ode—The Farewell, written at Woodcote, near Epsom—Epigrams*, puzzled one reviewer: "We know not why the Author should call these Trifles satirical, unless it be on account of some low and contemptible abuse of the Clergy. But we say no more as both the poetry and the Poet appear to be equally below the attention of the public."<sup>11</sup> Only one reviewer has been found who might be considered to have offered faint though patronizing praise; "Very pretty, *macte puer*," he wrote. "Go on boy, thou mayest come to something if thou growest not too pert; try thy hand upon some subject not personal."<sup>12</sup> This reception of his work can have given him little encouragement to persevere in a literary career and Allen retired to Oxford.<sup>13</sup> But he was not happy in what he

<sup>6</sup> Miscellaneous Letters; Certificates; Lay Representatives; Ordination of Clergy, etc., 1700—early 1800, MSS, Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore. Cited hereafter as Misc. Letters, 1700-1800.

<sup>7</sup> Article on Allen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, in which he is classified as a "miscellaneous writer."

<sup>8</sup> *The Monthly Review*, XXV (London, 1762), 398. It was, however, pronounced unobjectionable by the D. N. B.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, XXX (1764), 239.

<sup>10</sup> *Critical Review or Annals of Literature* (London, 1764), p. 237.

<sup>11</sup> *Monthly Review*, XXXI (1764), 232.

<sup>12</sup> *Critical Review* (1764), p. 158.

<sup>13</sup> Allen to Lord Baltimore, May 3, 1765, *loc. cit.* He later said that he had studied ten years in "the most famous university in the World, where I left a genteel income which I might have possessed in ease." Allen, *Address to the*

referred to as his "recluse Life"; he admitted that "A man has gained a great Point who is able to live alone, since I can't be Alexander, I would be Diogenes. I would be a Philosopher," but, he continued, "Alas! 'Tis in Theory only that I can be one. The slightest accident has this moment convinc'd me, that I never shall be one in practice." His health was suffering; "a nasty, gouty humour" was hanging about him and he had difficulty in sleeping.<sup>14</sup>

Allen's dissatisfaction with his lot in England helps to explain his acceptance of banishment to the colonies. His subsequent career makes it clear that it was not zeal for the advancement of the church which led him to Maryland. He came to seek his fortune. The other factor which brought this typical product of 18th century England to the Province was his friendship with Frederick, Lord Baltimore, who possessed the disposal of the livings of the established church in Maryland. Their intimacy was attributed to "a Similitude in their Studys"<sup>15</sup> and must have dated from 1761 or 1762. Allen had visited Woodcote, Lord Baltimore's country house.<sup>16</sup> But the explanation of Lord Baltimore's partiality which maintains that "Mr. Allen was sent out to Maryland with directions to the Governor to give him whatever he should ask that was in the Proprietary's power to give" because Allen had written in his Lordship's defense when he was under prosecution for the rape of a Miss Woodcock<sup>17</sup> is obviously false, since the alleged rape occurred in December, 1767, a year after Allen arrived in Maryland.<sup>18</sup>

Lord Baltimore's first plan for the benefit of his protégé was

*Parishioners*, p. 1. Lord Baltimore said that Allen had resigned a good appointment in order to go to America. Baltimore to Governor Horatio Sharpe, September 22, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 329.

<sup>14</sup> Allen to Lord Baltimore, May 3, 1765, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Hugh Hamersley to Sharpe, March 28, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 474.

<sup>16</sup> In an undated letter which must have been written in 1767 or 1768 Allen spoke of "his Lordship's Partiality to me after an intimate Acquaintance of Six Years." Allen to Sharpe, *ibid.*, p. 455. Possibly the "Mr. Bennet" referred to in the Calvert papers as visiting Woodcote was Allen. Cecilius Calvert to Lord Baltimore, October 28, 1762, *Calvert Papers*, II (Maryland Historical Society, Fund-Publications, No. 34, Baltimore, 1894), p. 208; same to same, August 21, 1763, *ibid.*, p. 212. One of his *Satirical Trifles* was entitled "The Farewell, written at Woodcote, near Epsom."

<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Bouchier, ed., *Reminiscences of An American Loyalist, 1738-1789, Being the Autobiography of the Revd Jonathan Boucher, Rector of Annapolis in Maryland and afterwards Vicar of Epsom, Surrey, England* (New York, 1925), p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXVIII (1768), 180.

to give him an appointment to one of the best livings in the Province which he was to hold by deputy while remaining in England<sup>19</sup> but Governor Sharpe pointed out that in Maryland a non-resident clergyman would be an innovation which not only would probably be considered contrary to the law of the Province but also the transaction might prove unprofitable to Allen unless he exercised the greatest care in choosing a curate, since many of the Maryland clergy if placed in such a position "might refuse to pay his Rector according to Stipulation & raise an Out cry in the Province that might not be easily silenced."<sup>20</sup> This idea was abandoned however before Sharpe's warning could have influenced the decision and about the middle of October, 1766, Allen sailed for America, accompanied by glowing recommendations from his lordship.<sup>21</sup>

## II

The first impression made on Annapolis society by the new arrival was a favorable one. He was described as "a very polite, sensible & well-bred Scholar; & is likely to be much admired,"<sup>22</sup> and he was treated with "great civilities" by Daniel Dulany.<sup>23</sup> In the beginning he was ready to make the best of his situation and condescended to express polite enthusiasm for his physical surroundings. He "was rejoiced to see Annapolis—situated on an Eminence, & the Shore on each side the River bold & high. . . . The Houses . . . are built on several Hills & risings without regularity just as convenience or choice directed. They are in number between 4 and 500. There is scarce a bad Situation in Annapolis, an observation which may be extended to all the western shore of Maryland, the country lying high & dry & diversified with a happy mixture of Hills & Valleys." He was ready to admire the native products; "The Indian Corn produces a blade

<sup>19</sup> Baltimore to Sharpe, August 2, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 323.

<sup>20</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, December 7, 1766, *ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

<sup>21</sup> Baltimore to Sharpe, November 2, 1766, *ibid.*, pp. 339-340. Allen's license to perform the office of priest in Maryland, signed by the Bishop of London, was dated September 30, 1766. Misc. Letters, 1700-1800. "His Lordship desires you will immediately on his arrival Present him to the best Preferment then open, and advance him afterwards as opportunities offer. You will find him a very sensible Valuable young Gent<sup>n</sup> and as such his Lordship desires to Introduce him to your Protection and Friendship," Hamersley to Sharpe, September 29, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 332.

<sup>22</sup> Boucher to James, March 9, 1767, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 341.

<sup>23</sup> Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302.

in the Spring of the most lively green & a flower of threads of silk, some white & others red, emitting a grateful smell. One can't conceive anything more beautiful than such an Appearance."<sup>24</sup>

Soon after his arrival Allen was able to perform a slight service for his benefactor. Lord Baltimore had decided in 1765 to sell the proprietary manors and reserved lands in the Province<sup>25</sup> but his right to dispose of them was questioned in Maryland on the grounds that they were entailed.<sup>26</sup> The first attempt to dispose of them was therefore unsuccessful because it was believed that purchasers could not receive a clear title.<sup>27</sup> Although the proprietor opposed making concessions since he maintained that his right to dispose of the land could not be disputed,<sup>28</sup> the suggestion of Daniel Dulany that resort be made to a fictitious action in common recovery to bar the entail was adopted<sup>29</sup> and a suit in the Provincial Court in which Bennet Allen played the part of defendant and Walter Dulany that of plaintiff settled the question.<sup>30</sup>

Governor Sharpe hastily offered the highly recommended new arrival his choice of the vacant livings, all of which were on the Eastern Shore. Allen however designated as his choice the parish of St. Ann's in Annapolis, although the salary was less than that of one of the parishes he was offered.<sup>31</sup> He preferred a lower salary and Annapolis while waiting for something better to turn up to the wilds of the Eastern Shore "where if I escap'd the Ague & Fevers in the Winter, I must be devour'd by Muskettoes in the Summer, it being for a Person to live there, who has not been

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Archives*, XIV, 189-193, 202-203, 267; Charles Albrow Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 264-265.

<sup>26</sup> "... because the Mannours were entailed by some Settlements; ... the question has been asked if the late Lord could not devise because only Tenant in Tail by what Limitation has the present Lord Baltimore an Estate in Fee-simple, or how does his Power to sell arise?" Sharpe to Baltimore, July 19, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 316-319.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.

<sup>28</sup> Baltimore to Sharpe, November 2, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 339; Hamersley to Sharpe, November 8, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 343.

<sup>29</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, July 27, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>30</sup> Provincial Court Judgments, 1767-1768, DD 13, pp. 295-298, 397-432, Maryland Hall of Records; for a résumé of the case see Calvert's Lessee *vs.* Sir Robert Eden *et al.*, in Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports, being a Series of the most important Law Cases argued and determined in the General Court and Court of Appeals of the State of Maryland from May 1780 to May 1790* (New York, 1812), pp. 284-297.

<sup>31</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, March, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 373.

born & bred there, as impossible as it is in the Weald of Kent or the Fens of Lincolnshire.”<sup>32</sup> Another parish was found for the incumbent of St. Ann’s<sup>33</sup> and Allen took his place on January 1, 1767.<sup>34</sup> He was pleased with the parsonage which he described as standing “On the prettiest spot in the Town . . . a little, new Edifice, built out of the profits of the living reserv’d for that purpose, consisting of 3 rooms on a floor. . . . I am fitting up 3 rooms to live in, which I hope to do in abt 2 months.”<sup>35</sup>

The Governor assured Allen of his intention of presenting him with a more lucrative parish on the Western Shore as soon as one fell vacant, which he expected to occur very soon;<sup>36</sup> Daniel Dulany advised him to wait for “St. Anne’s” in Prince George’s County which was worth £200 sterling and “likely soon to become vacant.”<sup>37</sup> But as the year wore on without any opportune deaths among his fellow clergy Allen grew impatient.<sup>38</sup> He became critical and described his church as “very old & very ugly and so little public spirit is there, & so little hopes of another, that they will not even make contribution to the support of an organist. I never saw such people. They grow tir’d of everything and from want of steadiness . . . they render everything they do useless & abortive.”<sup>39</sup> He grew fearful of the effect the climate might have on his “wretched constitution” and nearly fainted “thro’ excess of heat” when travelling to Frederick county

<sup>32</sup> Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302.

<sup>33</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, July 27, 1767. *Archives*, XIV, 410.

<sup>34</sup> Minutes of Vestry Meeting, April 20, 1767, in Register of St. Ann’s Parish, Annapolis, vol. II, Vestry Proceedings, 1767-1818, MS copy, MHS. Hereafter cited as Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann’s.

<sup>35</sup> Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767. Calvert Papers, 1302. Later Allen said that he had spent his first year’s salary on the Glebe house, Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, p. 2. Sharpe estimated that St. Ann’s was worth £180 sterling a year. Sharpe to Baltimore, March, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 373. Allen reckoned “. . . the Profits of the living . . . under 120 sterling. The Governor values it at more, but then he reckons the house 40 £ a Year, which ought not come into the valuation at all, being no part of the Profits.” Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302. St. Ann’s is listed by Perry as worth £199.5.3 in 1767. William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, IV, Maryland (Hartford, 1878), p. 336.

<sup>36</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, March, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 373.

<sup>37</sup> Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302. Allen referred to Queen Anne Parish, the church being known then and now as St. Barnabas’s.

<sup>38</sup> Hamersley, writing of Allen’s induction at St. Ann’s, said: “He seems to have chose it for fear of being Rusticated, but does not appear very well Contented with it.” Hamersley to Sharpe, July 20, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 405.

<sup>39</sup> Allen to Baltimore, August 27, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1308.

with Mr. Dulany.<sup>40</sup> His situation forced him to drink "Claret at half a Dollar a Bottle, to keep off the Fever & Ague, besides, I am not happy enough to live without wine."<sup>41</sup> "Often," he confessed, "My romantick turn of thought . . . transports me amongst a tribe of Indians . . . to become the free and happy tenant of the shade, as Cowley expresses himself. But the misfortune is, that my constitution & Education have spoiled me for a good Savage. . . ."<sup>42</sup>

Lord Baltimore had already suggested that until a really good living turned up Allen might hold two of the less desirable ones,<sup>43</sup> but Governor Sharpe had pointed out that according to the act of 1701/2 for the establishment of the church in the Province no incumbent might hold two parishes without the consent of both vestries, which, he reported, "They would never give."<sup>44</sup> Allen, however, had not lost sight of this possible method of increasing his income and refused to believe that the established English custom of Pluralities could be obnoxious to the people of Maryland.<sup>45</sup> He began urging the unfortunate governor to appoint him to another parish.

Sharpe was faced with an awkward decision. Should he risk annoying the Proprietor by thwarting the wishes of his favorite or should he allow Allen to involve them both in what he foresaw would be a serious quarrel with the Lower House of the Assembly? He tried to postpone taking action until he could receive further orders from England and wrote apologetically to Lord Baltimore, "I have . . . been studious out of respect to your Ldp's Recommendation to do Mr Allen every kind of office in my power & to make this place agreeable to him but from some Hints . . . I am apprehensive he is a little disappointed in his

<sup>40</sup> Same to same, June 21, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1306.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Same to same, August 27, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1308.

<sup>43</sup> Baltimore to Sharpe, September 22, 1766, *Archives*, XIV, 329-330.

<sup>44</sup> Sharpe to Hamersley, March, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 381. "No Minister, or Incumbent, shall at one Time, hold more than Two Parishes, nor Two, unless by the Desire or Agreement of the Vestry of the said Adjacent Parish and consent of the Vestries where he resides . . ." An Act for the establishm<sup>t</sup> of Religious Worsh<sup>op</sup> in this Province, according to the Church of England . . . Passed March 16, 1701/2. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 271.

<sup>45</sup> When he heard that a parish worth £200 might soon become vacant he wrote to his patron "if I can hold this with Annapolis it will be a livelihood; . . . No Vestry would have objection, if the Church was properly supplied by a Curate." Allen to Baltimore, January, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1302.



Expectations." The Governor had noticed that "Gentlemen on their first Arrival here are apt to think a Governor might do whatever he pleases."<sup>46</sup> He thought possibly the Proprietor had not foreseen all the difficulties and he "did not apprehend that His Ldp would have me in order to serve that Gentleman take any step that would be likely to occasion Discontent & afford the Assembly even a Pretence for saying that the Law was dispensed with. . . ."<sup>47</sup> But should Lord Baltimore wish to risk making the experiment, the governor would of course carry out his orders.<sup>48</sup> Before Lord Baltimore's decision could be made known in Maryland an event took place which forced Sharpe's hand; this was the death, in October, of the rector of St. James's at Herring Bay.<sup>49</sup> St. James's was about 16 or 18 miles from Annapolis,<sup>50</sup> possessed a parsonage and two glebes<sup>51</sup> and since it produced the best tobacco in the country the income of the rector was estimated at £300 sterling a year.<sup>52</sup> Allen induced the governor to appoint him, not as rector, but as curate of the parish which meant that his tenure was only temporary; he was, however, to receive the full salary of the living.<sup>53</sup>

Sharpe continued to entertain the darkest view of the situation; he warned Allen that he might have difficulty in collecting his salary and that if there were opposition to the arrangement on the part of the vestries he would not be surprised if "some of the busy men in the Lower House of Assembly who eagerly watch for pretences to clamour take it up as a publick Matter." Allen's reply, that if the Governor merely informed the Assembly that the arrangement had been made in accordance with the wish of the Proprietor all opposition would cease,<sup>54</sup> shows what little under-

<sup>46</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, July 27, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 410.

<sup>47</sup> Sharpe to Hamersley, July 27, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 414.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Meeting of the Vestry, October 20, 1767, Vestry Proceedings, 1695-1793, St. James's Parish, Anne Arundel County. MS copy, MHS. Hereafter cited as Vestry Proceedings, St. James's.

<sup>50</sup> Sharpe to Hamersley, November 3, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 429.

<sup>51</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, October 29, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>52</sup> Sharpe to Hamersley, November 3, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 429. Perry states that St. James's was worth £213.3.0. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

<sup>53</sup> His license stated "until another Rector shall be . . . inducted I do . . . grant Lycence . . . to you . . . to officiate as Curate in the said Parrish . . . to continue during pleasure . . . to have . . . from the Sheriff of Ann Arundell County the whole amount of the thirty per poll as may become due from the taxable Inhabitants . . ." Meeting of the Vestry, November 3, 1767, Vestry Proceedings, St. James's.

<sup>54</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, October 29, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 425.



standing he had of the temper of the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly in the decade before the Revolution. Sharpe loyally assured Lord Baltimore that he would not "without Your Ldp's express orders give any such Reason for my Proceedings."<sup>55</sup> He hoped that if the Proprietor agreed with him that Allen's plans were dangerous he would write to the parson, since "the least Hint from Your Ldp will I am satisfied have its due weight, but really I am somewhat afraid lest such Advice from me should be construed as an Unwillingness to serve him to the full extent of Your Ldps Instructions, tho I declare I have already gone & shall always be ready to go greater lengths to serve him than I would do for any other Person whatever not having the honour to stand so high in your Ldps favour. . . ." <sup>56</sup> The extreme perturbation of the Governor is shown by his offer to Allen, if he would surrender St. Ann's and the salary of St. James's did not come to £300, to make up the remainder himself.<sup>57</sup>

Allen not only repudiated the offer but also embarked on a campaign to obtain the consent of the two vestries to his induction as rector of both parishes and when he obtained the support of Samuel Chew of Herring Bay, one of the vestrymen of St. James's, the prospect of gaining his object appeared promising. According to Chew, his support was won by Allen's promise to install a curate at St. James's whom he would remove at once if the parishioners became dissatisfied with him.<sup>58</sup> Accounts of the odd behaviour of many of the Maryland clergy at this time lead one to believe that this argument must have possessed great force, but Allen attributed Chew's ready acquiescence to a desire to conform to the wishes of the Proprietor with whom he had been at school in England.

I showed him, [he said] two letters from his Lordship, in which he expressed his intention that another living should be given to me to hold together with that of Annapolis which though the capital of the province, afforded too scanty . . . a provision for a clergyman to live upon with credit or decency.<sup>59</sup> I begged the concurrence of Mr. Chew, as a vestry-

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> "He then informed me of his Intentions and undertook to point out the many Advantages our Parish would have more than others, of our always having it in our Powers to get rid of a Bad man." Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Materials in the Society's library will be cited as HSP.

<sup>59</sup> His conception of what constituted a decent and creditable manner of life for

man. . . . He readily complied, and promised me everything I desire. I mentioned an objection started by an infamous quibble upon the word *adjacent*. "What" said the Squire, "dispute the Lord Baltimore's commands." <sup>60</sup>

The two gentlemen travelled amicably together by boat from Annapolis to Herring Bay to attend a meeting of the vestry <sup>61</sup> at which the members apparently agreed to Allen's holding both parishes if he would enter into a written agreement either to officiate himself at St. James's or to appoint a regular curate; <sup>62</sup> the vestry of St. Ann's however refused to concur in the arrangement <sup>63</sup> and within a short time Mr. Chew had changed his mind. He attributed his *volte face* to the parishioners' loudly expressed anger, accompanied by threats to complain to the Assembly, when "this affair had got about of his intending of holding two Parishes and of the Vestry's consenting to it." <sup>64</sup> In addition to being thoroughly aroused by their fierce prejudice against Pluralities the parishioners were also outraged by the arrangement that Allen as a mere curate of St. James's should receive the salary of a rector. They asserted that since the law

has described in what manner Tobacco shall be apply'd untill there's bean Induction" the vestry's duty was to follow the law <sup>65</sup> which clearly stated, "where there are not . . . Ministers in any Parish it shall . . . be Lawfull to the Vestry to provide some Sober and Discreet person as a Reader. And to present him to the Ordinary, who may Sequester part of the fforty pound p poll; To pay him for such Service; And the rest to be apply'd as the Law in Cases of such Vacancies directs." <sup>66</sup>

Mr. Chew was also influenced to change his mind by considering

a clergyman is somewhat startling if one may believe the account of a conversation he had with John Chew, who was also a vestryman of St. James's. When the parson discovered that the income of the parish was about £300 he said, "*It will hardly supply me with Liguors.*—Mr Chew, much amaz'd at such Extravagance, told him that many Men lived very well and Rais'd large Families upon much less—Mr Allen then ask'd him what he might spend in a year, to which he answer'd—about £60—But, says Mr Allen, you enjoy many Advantages that I do not, as for Instance, you have a *Wife*; now it will cost me *something considerable to enjoy the Pleasures* you are possess'd of; and concluded with saying—*I wish I had never taken the Gown.*" MS statement, "To the Printers" [1768], p. 4, Dulany Papers, MHS.

<sup>60</sup> *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Allen to Sharpe, November 25, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 457.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, HSP.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Act of March 16, 1701/2, *Archives*, XXIV, 271.

possible future developments; he foresaw that soon young men from Maryland might be "go in Home for Orders" only to find on their return that all the livings were filled by Englishmen, some of whom might even be holding more than one, "when in fact, we ought to have the Preferrance as our fourfathers . . . largely contributed to his Lordship and y<sup>e</sup> support of Government: this," Chew pointed out with evident relish to the already nervous governor, "will be just as good as the Stamp Act."<sup>67</sup>

It was the question of what, exactly, had caused Chew to change his mind which led to Allen's first spectacular quarrel with one of the Maryland gentry. It took place in Chew's house over a bowl of punch with the Reverend Mr. Edmiston as the only spectator,<sup>68</sup> when Allen mentioned his plan for renting some of the Glebe land at Pig Point.<sup>69</sup> Chew immediately grasped this opportunity for breaking the news to Allen that he and the rest of the vestry of St. James's had changed their minds.<sup>70</sup> Allen was of course annoyed and insisted that Chew had been influenced to revoke his promise of support by Mr. Walter Dulany, a member of the Council, Commissary of Maryland, vestryman of St. Ann's, Annapolis, brother of Daniel Dulany and step-brother of Samuel Chew. "A Bible lying on a Desk near Mr. Chew he laid his hand on it & said Sir I can here solemnly swear that I have had no Conversation with Mr. Dulany nor knew anything of his being your Enemy in it more than you have told me yourself. Mr. Allen said notwithstanding that Sir I should much doubt or question your Word."<sup>71</sup> After this direct and deadly insult Mr. Chew followed the only course then open to him and ordered the clergyman out of his house; when Allen hesitated, "Mr. Chew called him a damn'd Scoundrel took him by the Collar dragged him to the Door & put him out telling him to go & learn better Manners before he came to a Gentleman's House again, & shut the Door. Mr. Allen attempting to come in again & pushing the Door partly open Mr. Chew struck at him with a Stick."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, HSP.

<sup>68</sup> "State of the Difference between M<sup>r</sup> Allen & M<sup>r</sup> Chew" enclosed in a letter from Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 465.

<sup>69</sup> *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.

<sup>70</sup> Chew to Sharpe, January 12, 1768, Dreer Collection, HSP.

<sup>71</sup> *Archives*, XIV, 466.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 466-467.

According to Allen's version of this painful scene, Chew had flourished a club and called his Negroes to his assistance.<sup>73</sup>

If one can bring oneself to overlook the rather important fact that Mr. Allen was a clergyman, his subsequent reaction also seems inevitable. A hasty note containing the statement of his willingness to defend his character "at any risque" and a proposal for a meeting to talk over the affair "which . . . then will be settled in a *proper* way" was sent to the squire<sup>74</sup> who knowing its source but "not dreaming as it came from a Minister of the Gospel it contain'd a Challenge" threw it into the fire without reading it.<sup>75</sup> But Allen persisted; a second note was sent containing the highly irritating statement, "I find you only valiant in your own house," to which Chew replied suggesting a meeting with pistols "in the old field . . . opposite to Mr Jos. Galloway's old house. . . . Bring no one with you as I shall not. . . . As I am determined that only one of us shall live to tell the tale."<sup>76</sup>

Although the parson confirmed this arrangement further consideration appears to have roused in him doubt, not of the propriety of the spectacle of a duel between the rector of St. Ann's and a vestryman of St. James's, but of Chew's acquaintance with the fine points of the code of honor and of his motives. Chew's request that he come alone seemed ominous and he had been assured, he said, "that Mr. Chew would not scruple shooting me with a gun."<sup>77</sup> He therefore sent word that the weather prevented his coming and requesting more formal arrangements with seconds present and the ground marked. A sudden rising of the South River prevented the message from reaching Chew until the moment set for the duel; it found the Squire waiting on the field of battle. Allen claimed that his suspicions of foul play were justified because Chew was accompanied by a servant armed with a blunderbuss.<sup>78</sup> Apparently no further attempt was made to bring about a meeting and a month later Governor Sharpe was able to report that "They are now so far pacified as to meet at a

<sup>73</sup> *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> "To the Printer" [1768], Dulany Papers.

<sup>76</sup> *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Allen's Statement of the Transactions between Mr Sam<sup>l</sup> Chew & himself, January 17, 1768, Gilmor Papers, I, 58, MHS.

Coffee House without speaking to each other but will never I suppose be reconciled.”<sup>79</sup>

The conduct of Mr. Chew excited surprise and admiration among his circle; one of the Dulany's wrote to another: “. . . who could have thought that the seeds of Heroism were so thick sown in Sam's Breast” and that he was anxiously awaiting the moment “when I shall see the exulting champion in my own Parlour wrought into the extremest pitch of boiling Passion which his impetuous & combustible nature is capable of exhibiting.”<sup>80</sup> The fame of his exploit was not confined to Maryland. It was said that as a result of it “The Characters of the Marylanders are very high to the Northward . . . opposition to the most dangerous of all Tyranny viz the Ecclesiastical doth spring up . . . in the Person of Col<sup>l</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Chew. The last Hero is idoliz'd at Boston, so rapid hath been the progress of the Blast of Fame. Mr Otis is determin'd to enter into a Correspondence with him.”<sup>81</sup>

In the meantime Allen did not allow himself to be discouraged by the stubborn opposition of the two vestries. Possibly the doubt expressed by the parishioners of St. James's to his right as curate to enjoy the whole salary of the living made him the more determined to hold the parish as rector and eventually the reluctant governor was persuaded to grant him an induction as rector of St. James's without the consent of the vestries.<sup>82</sup> Sharpe wrote plaintively to the Proprietor:

I really think he had better have remained as he was till Your Ldp could have time to signify Your farther Pleasure for I am apprehensive some of the Violent People in the Vestry of this Parish [St. Ann's] will

<sup>79</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 465.

<sup>80</sup> LL [Lloyd] Dulany to “Dear Brother,” March 20, [1768], Dulany Papers.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* A labored, very 18th century, satire on the quarrel is among the Dulany Papers: “And now shall y<sup>e</sup> Anger of y<sup>e</sup> Terramarian be likewise kindled; & finding Himself set at Nought under his own Roof, He shall say, Depart from my Threshhold, Thou irreverend Wadhamite! And the Wadhamite shall depart, sorely vex'd: and then shall He cause Letters to be sent unto Him, in which it shall be written, . . . Come forthe then, that We may fight together . . . Now the Wadhamite shall remain secretly pent up in his Sanctuary, & when the Time shall come, that He should go forth to war, he shall say ‘Fearfulness & Trembling are come upon Me . . . Whither shall I go? if I go down into yonder Anne-Arundelian Plains, there . . . He may slay me. And then, Ah Me! how will the yellow Damsels of An-p--s lament my Fall! I will feign an Excuse; & will spread it abroad throughout all the Land, that there was a mighty Tempest upon the Waters, so that the River of the South was impassable.” Dulany Papers, 5, 14.

<sup>82</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 465. The induction was dated February 11, 1768. Vestry Meeting, June 12, 1768, Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's.

upon hearing of his being Rector of St James's take some extraordinary Step or other in order to vex him & create Confusion. I am very glad on this Account that the Assembly stands prorogued to a late Day in May for if they happened to meet at this time I am persuaded Mr Worthington <sup>83</sup> who is one of the Vestry here & also a Member of the Lower House would immediately prevail on the House to engage in the Dispute & then I could have little hopes of the Session being brought to a peaceable & happy Issue.<sup>84</sup>

By this time Allen had shifted his ground and asserted that the consent of the two vestries to his holding both parishes was unnecessary. His argument was ably presented but could have had little appeal to the more independent inhabitants of the Province; he maintained that Lord Baltimore possessed the same prerogative in relation to the church in Maryland which the king enjoyed in England, including that of dispensing with the law against pluralities, in the case of his chaplains <sup>85</sup> of which Allen was one <sup>86</sup> and he claimed that the required dispensation was implied in a letter from Lord Baltimore in which he "presents me to any Living I may chuse together with the Living of St. Ann of which I am possess'd." <sup>87</sup> This argument was met by his opponents with the simple statement that "The Canons contended for, are such as regard only the Discipline or Government of the Church of England, and consequently, are impertinent to the Subject; Viz, the Church of Maryland." <sup>88</sup>

The brief minutes of the vestry meetings of the two parishes shed light only sufficient to show that the members were putting up a stiff fight to prevent Allen's enjoying the financial benefits he had hoped to gain from the transaction. The vestry of St. James's ordered "that the Sheriff shall retain in his Hands what Tobacco shall be claimed by the Reverd Mr Allen. . . ." <sup>89</sup> while St. Ann's vestry was obtaining data concerning the dates of Allen's license and induction at St. James's, <sup>90</sup> and inviting Mr Saml Chew

<sup>83</sup> Nicholas Worthington at this time was a vestryman of St. Ann's. Vestry Meeting, April 20, 1767, Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's.

<sup>84</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, February 9, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 465.

<sup>85</sup> Allen to Sharpe, n. d., *ibid.*, pp. 448-449; "A Bystander" *Maryland Gazette*, February 18, 1768.

<sup>86</sup> Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, title page.

<sup>87</sup> Allen to Sharpe, n. d., *Archives*, XIV, 451-452.

<sup>88</sup> "C. D." *Maryland Gazette*, May 19, 1768, and supplement.

<sup>89</sup> Vestry Meeting, June 7, 1768, Vestry Proceedings, St. James's. Sharpe to Hamersley, July 25, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 519.

<sup>90</sup> Vestry Meeting, June 12, 1768, Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's.

to meet with them.<sup>91</sup> Allen later stated that he had been eighteen months in the province without receiving one shilling's salary.<sup>92</sup>

### III

He had in the meantime become involved in a public quarrel with Walter Dulany, an important member of the powerful Dulany family. His relations with the Dulanys had at first been intimate<sup>93</sup> but Allen attributed his difficulties with the vestries to the opposition of Walter Dulany. The law of 1701/2 stated that with the consent of the vestries two adjacent parishes might be held by one rector<sup>94</sup> but St. Ann's and St. James's were not adjacent. Allen contended that this objection was a mere quibble since the boundaries of the parishes were within four miles of each other and the two churches closer together than those of many contiguous parishes.<sup>95</sup> But the Dulanys were not convinced by his reasoning:

This shall be a Specimen of his Ratiocination, whatsoever may be seen at one Glance of the Eye, or repeated with the same Breath, is *ex ipso Facto*, near or adjacent. North and South, being both Points in one Circle, may both be seen with a coup d'oeil, & both repeated with one Breath. Ergo: tho' both East & West lie between them, yet are North & South indubitably *Contiguous, conterminous, adjacent & next Door Neighbours*. Q. E. D.<sup>96</sup>

Simple zeal for upholding the laws of the Province was not, according to Allen, the explanation for the stand adopted by Walter Dulany; it was to save himself "Twelve Pounds a Year Current Money in the Education of his Children,"<sup>97</sup> by obtaining both the living of St. Ann's and the mastership of the Free School in Annapolis for the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Boucher who at that

<sup>91</sup> Vestry Meeting, January 3, 1769, *ibid.* An article signed "The Querist" in the *Maryland Gazette*, February 11, 1768, advocated withholding Allen's salary.

<sup>92</sup> Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*: Allen to Baltimore, June 21, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1306; Sharpe to Hamersley, October 30, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 549; Allen wrote of "the Dulanys whose friendship I had cultivated, and neglected others, against whom I had imbibed, from their conversation, their prejudices . . ." *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.

<sup>94</sup> Act of March 16, 1701/2, *Archives*, XXIV, 271.

<sup>95</sup> Allen to Sharpe, November 25, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 458. *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 14, 1768.

<sup>96</sup> MS endorsed "To the Printers," Dulany Papers, 5, 14.

<sup>97</sup> "B. A.," *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 12, 1768.



time was rector of a church in Virginia where he conducted a successful school for boys.<sup>98</sup> The plan had of course to be abandoned when Allen chose St. Ann's for his parish and Boucher reported that "My Friends there are not a little mortified at his so insolently stepping in before Me. . . ."<sup>99</sup>

The problem of educating their sons therefore still confronted the Dulanys in the autumn of 1767<sup>100</sup> and when the rector of St. James's, which was conveniently near Annapolis, died in October the plan of obtaining the services of Boucher was revived<sup>101</sup> only again to be thwarted by the demands of Allen.<sup>102</sup> Boucher confirmed Allen's contention that Walter Dulany's opposition to his holding both parishes was because he wanted one of them for Boucher; "Allen came in;" he said, "And the Dulanys on my account, publicly quarrelled with him."<sup>103</sup> Governor Sharpe, however, believed that rivalry for the office of Commissary was the cause of the bitter enmity between the two gentlemen. In the summer of 1767 Sharpe had appointed Walter Dulany to that office;<sup>104</sup> when the Proprietor learned of the appointment he confirmed it but told Sharpe that the office had been intended for Allen<sup>105</sup> and the parson was also informed what his Lordship's intentions for him had been.<sup>106</sup> The Governor concluded that "had not Mr Allen push't for the Commissary's Office nor Mr W. Dulany been a Vestryman, the closest Intimacy would prob-

<sup>98</sup> Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, p. 1. Boucher was a friend of the Reverend Mr. Henry Addison who had married Rachel, sister of Daniel and Walter Dulany. Thomas H. Montgomery, "My Mother's Maryland Ancestry and Kindred." MS. HSP.

<sup>99</sup> Boucher to James, March 9, 1767, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 341. "The Virginia Parson was to have come to Annapolis but that is over." Daniel Dulany to Walter Dulany, October 11, 1767, Dulany Papers.

<sup>100</sup> After investigating another schoolmaster with clerical aspirations Daniel Dulany wrote that "all who have sons to educate here have great interest in his settling in Maryland." *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Boucher wrote that he expected "to pitch his tent" at Herring Bay. Boucher to James, November 28, 1767, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 355.

<sup>102</sup> Eventually the Dulanys got their way. Governor Eden wrote, "I promised . . . that Mr Boucher shou'd have this Living [St. Ann's] . . . May I beg you to take the Trouble of informing this Gentleman of his Appointment, which I hope will be to his Satisfaction, till such Time as it can be bettered by the Addition of the School, or Removal to a better Parrish . . ." Robert Eden to W. Dulany, May 10, 1770, Dulany Papers.

<sup>103</sup> Boucher to James, July 25, 1769, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VIII, 37.

<sup>104</sup> Sharpe to Hamersley, July 27, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 415.

<sup>105</sup> Hamersley to Sharpe, November 10, 1767, *ibid.*, pp. 432-433.

<sup>106</sup> Allen to Sharpe, November 29, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 560.

ably have still subsisted between the Brother [Daniel Dulany] & Mr Allen."<sup>107</sup>

The next move in Allen's campaign was an unsuccessful attempt to bring about the removal of Dulany from the vestry of St. Ann's on the grounds that a member of the Council could not be a vestryman since in England peers of the realm were exempt from vestry duty;<sup>108</sup> but the Marylanders were not unduly impressed by this flattering analogy.<sup>109</sup> It was a communication on this subject, published in the *Maryland Gazette*, which began a lengthy and often tedious newspaper controversy.<sup>110</sup> Among Allen's adherents were "A Bystander," "A Friend to Merit," "The Friend" and Isaac Dakein, the master of the Free School in Annapolis whose opposition to the Dulanys is easily understood.<sup>111</sup> The Dulany party included "Querist," ".C. D.," "A Plain Dealer," "Rusticus," "Clericus," "Tom Fun" and John Clapham, the son-in-law of Mrs. Green, the printer of the *Maryland Gazette*,<sup>112</sup> who became involved in the quarrel when Allen accused the printer of suppressing the freedom of the press upon his refusal to continue his articles unless he either divulged his name or posted a bond.<sup>113</sup> Boucher, still languishing in Virginia, took an anonymous part in the fray.<sup>114</sup>

At first the contributors confined themselves to arguments on the legality of the positions of their respective sides but soon the discussions in both prose and verse ranged over wide fields. What might be considered very broad hints were thrown out concerning the parson's morals and emphasizing his fondness for drink and "sweet pretty mulattoes";<sup>115</sup> he was pronounced to

<sup>107</sup> Sharpe to Hamersley, October 30, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 549.

<sup>108</sup> "By parity of Reason all Councillors in Maryland, who form a Superior Branch of the Legislature, are, by their Dignity, likewise exempted from bearing any such like Office." "A Bystander," *Maryland Gazette*, January 28, 1768.

<sup>109</sup> One critic pointed out that "exempt" does not mean "incapacitate." "A Plain Dealer," *ibid.*, March 3, 1768.

<sup>110</sup> A recent writer has estimated that "the newspaper space given to Allen's controversy and affairs was greater in amount than that given to resistance to the Townshend duties which were contemporary." Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

<sup>111</sup> Allen, *Address to the Parishioners*, preface; *Maryland Gazette*, November 10, 1768.

<sup>112</sup> Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 91, note.

<sup>113</sup> Handbill, May 28, 1768, Gilmor Papers, I, p. 62.

<sup>114</sup> Boucher boasted that "he had the luck at length to get the laugh of the public against him, so that he was completely worsted." Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 56.

<sup>115</sup> "C. D.," *Maryland Gazette*, February 25, 1768; *ibid.*, May 19, 1768, supplement.

be a sharper and a cheat and was accused not only of bolstering his arguments with incorrect quotations from Coke and Godolphin<sup>116</sup> but also of plagiarizing.<sup>117</sup> Allen retaliated by maintaining that in upholding the provincial law against the Proprietor's prerogative, Dulany as a member of the Council was "betraying the Trust, in covertly attacking those rights he is sworn to defend."<sup>118</sup> and he did not scruple to remind his opponents that thwarting him might have serious consequences:

Too well, methought, *you* knew me, War to wage  
Raise my Resentment, and defy my Rage;  
Whom Phoebus favours, Baltimore commends,  
The noblest Patron and the best of Friends. . . .<sup>119</sup>

Gallantly the Dulany faction retorted:

But say not Baltimore commends thy crimes,  
Or weighs Men's Merit by their jingling Rhymes:  
Strict Virtue oft, to others vice is Blind,  
Suspicion dwells not in the Noble Mind.<sup>120</sup>

But among themselves the Dulany's acknowledged that opposition to Allen might be dangerous and Lloyd Dulany wrote prophetically to his brother, "There is not the least reason to doubt the very great Influence which this Minister has by some means obtain'd over him, [Baltimore] the Exertion of which to the utter Destruction of any whom he may have apprehended the slightest Injury should he be able to accomplish it can be as little the subject of doubt."<sup>121</sup>

In the spring of 1768, however, news reached the Province which made it appear probable that the Proprietor would be far too occupied at home to interfere for some time in Maryland affairs. It was learned that he was about to stand trial for the rape of Miss Woodcock.<sup>122</sup> Allen immediately wrote a defense

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, February 25, 1768.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, March 10, 1768; March 31, 1768.

<sup>118</sup> "A Bystander," *ibid.*, May 12, 1768. But, according to "C.D.," Allen was "intriguing solely for his own interest, under the filmy veil of promoting the services of his Patron" and his actions tended "to embroil the Affairs of his Great Benefactor, and to render his Government odious to the People," *ibid.*, May 19, 1768.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, March 3, 1768.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, March 17, 1768.

<sup>121</sup> LL Dulany to "Dear Brother," March 20 [1768], Dulany Papers.

<sup>122</sup> An account of the affair taken from a London newspaper was published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 24, 1768. No mention of it was made at this time in the *Maryland Gazette*.

of his patron which although perhaps able was rather a startling one to emanate from a clergyman. He did not entirely rule out the possibility of Lord Baltimore's committing a rape but he did maintain that

his Lordship's general Character [was] humane, compassionate, amiable; his Temper frank, generous even to Profusion; his Disposition soft and tender even to a Fault. . . . Can it be supposed, that a Nobleman endowed with such a Temper, Disposition, Understanding and Talents, could make use of any outrageous or barbarous Means to perpetrate his Design (the very Enjoyment consisting in mutual Consent) and may we not on better grounds suppose . . . that the Prosecution has arisen from the mercenary Designs of an artful Woman? <sup>123</sup>

A pamphlet on the same subject with the fascinating title of *Modern Chastity; or the Agreeable Rape, a poem by a young Gentleman of sixteen in vindication of the Right Hon. Lord B———e*, published in England in 1768, is supposed to have been the work of Allen and the son of the Marquis of Granby <sup>124</sup> but since Allen was in Maryland at the time the poem appeared any real collaboration must have been difficult if not impossible.

Before Lord Baltimore became involved in what his friends politely referred to as "a most unlucky Affair" <sup>125</sup> he found time to inform the harassed governor of his further plans for the advancement of his protégé. His Lordship agreed with Sharpe that it would be wise to avoid "any Disputes about Plurality" <sup>126</sup> although he followed Allen in believing that he possessed the power to grant dispensations for holding two livings; he preferred, however, "not to push things to extremetys . . . Nor will he be Solliciting or Quibbling with Vestrys to Provide for the Man he regards, when he has it in his own Power to do it, by adding a Civil Office to the Church Mr Allen already holds." <sup>127</sup>

<sup>123</sup> *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April, 1768; reprinted in the *Maryland Gazette*, April 21, 1768.

<sup>124</sup> Article on Allen in the D. N. B.; the British Museum attributes this work to Bennet Allen with a query. *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1932), III, 371.

<sup>125</sup> Hamersley to Sharpe, March 28, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 472.

<sup>126</sup> Same to same, November 10, 1767, *ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>127</sup> Same to same, March 28, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 474. A letter on the same subject to Walter Dulany was phrased rather differently; it was explained that when Allen had been sent to the Province "his Lordship meant to give him a decent Provision, but not to violate the Laws of the Province, or to give the least offense to any Parish or to a single Individual in any Parish." Hamersley to Walter Dulany, March 28, 1768, Dulany Papers.

His orders were that any vacant or newly created office should be offered the parson; "his Lordship desires and expects Mr Allen may be immediately Promoted, and the better it is & the Sooner it reaches him, his Lordship will be the better pleased."<sup>128</sup>

On receiving these emphatic instructions, the governor reported, he had "communicated the same to Mr Allen who told Me he had himself a Copy of Mr Hamersley's Letter to Me & as it was apparent from that as well as from a Letter he had had the Honour to receive from your Ldp that your Ldp intended he should be appointed to the best place in the Province he preferred that of Agent . . ." to which Sharpe immediately appointed him,<sup>129</sup> although it must have been with some misgivings. Since no responsible person in Maryland was willing to become surety for Allen the governor accepted his personal bond.<sup>130</sup> At the same time the parson relinquished his claim to St. Ann's but continued as rector of St. James's.<sup>131</sup> He attempted to make his retreat a graceful one by pointing out that he had complied with local prejudice in asking for the consent of the vestries to the arrangement and resigning when it had not been obtained. "Can the People desire more?" he asked.<sup>132</sup> But the Dulanys were not mollified:

The Inhabitants here . . . have some strange savage Rules,  
That with Them and their Fathers, the custom was ever  
To be ask'd ere They're willing to grant You a Favour:  
Reluctant, I did so, the Scoundrels to please,  
And when rudely answer'd, I never sh<sup>d</sup> seize  
Two Livings of theirs—no Force did I use  
Save only attempt<sup>d</sup> the Laws to abuse.  
What I cou'd not, I did not, so mild is my Pow'r,  
And can You? You cannot, in Conscience, ask more.<sup>133</sup>

#### IV

Almost immediately, however, a far better opportunity arose for Allen to advance his position in the church. The best living in

<sup>128</sup> Hamersley to Sharpe, November 10, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 433.

<sup>129</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, March 31, 1768, *ibid.*, pp. 479-480.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.* This was contrary to custom in Maryland but Allen pointed out that it was in accordance with the best English procedure: "In Colleges where the receipts amount to ten or twelve Thousand Pounds a year; a personal Security is all that is demanded of the Bursars." Allen to Sharpe, March 30, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 476.

<sup>131</sup> Sharpe to Baltimore, March 31, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 480.

<sup>132</sup> *Maryland Gazette*, May 12, 1768.

<sup>133</sup> Dulanys Papers, 5, 14.

Maryland was that of All Saint's parish in Frederick; its desirability from a pecuniary point of view was the result of its large area and rapidly increasing population and Allen had had his eye on it from the time he arrived in the Province.<sup>134</sup> When he learned that the incumbent was dangerously ill, he asked that he might succeed to the living "upon confirmation of the news" of his death;<sup>135</sup> he explained that his desire for a hasty appointment was to circumvent the long felt wish of the parishioners to have the overgrown parish divided.<sup>136</sup> His argument against what would appear to have been a logical move for strengthening the church in Maryland by providing a large and growing number of people with several clergymen instead of one was set forth in a letter to the Proprietor when the question of creating another parish in Frederick county had been raised in 1767.

The Clergy . . . [he wrote] ought & under due regulation would be the chief support of your Government. How? By keeping them dependent. By what means? by Hopes of Interest. . . . What says the Assembly: Divide the livings, introduce equality amongst the Clergy & thus render them independent. . . . The Extensiveness of a Parish & the difficulties of doing Parochial Duties are popular Cries, but not sufficient to induce one to weaken the Powers of Government. To keep the Clergy expectant three or four large livings should be kept up, as objects of their ambition, if they are reduced to a level, they will become the most independent, as well as dangerous opponents in the Province.<sup>137</sup>

Another reason, he thought, for not dividing the revenues of the parish was that "nothing . . . can make a Clergyman at all respected in this country but his income, & even that sometimes fails."<sup>138</sup> In this instance Sharpe did not hesitate to grant Allen's request; he appointed him to All Saints' at the first possible moment and Allen arrived in Frederick with his induction on the day of his predecessor's funeral.<sup>139</sup> The governor also blocked a bill introduced in the Assembly providing for a division of the

<sup>134</sup> Allen to Baltimore, February 1767, Calvert Papers, 1303.

<sup>135</sup> Allen to Sharpe, May 8, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 494. Later Allen found it necessary publicly to deny the rumor that he had expressed a wish for the death of the popular rector. *Maryland Gazette*, September 29, 1768.

<sup>136</sup> Allen to Sharpe, May 8, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 494. "As from the many new Settlements made in the Western Part of the Province within these few years the Parish is become very extensive the Parishioners were very anxious to have it divided." Sharpe to Hamersley, May, 27, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>137</sup> Allen to Baltimore, February, 1767, Calvert Papers, 1303.

<sup>138</sup> Allen to Sharpe, November 25, 1767, *Archives*, XIV, 458.

<sup>139</sup> Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 501.

parish when Allen informed him that "His Ldp would not suffer it to be divided."<sup>140</sup> But Allen had apparently abandoned his attempt to reconcile the people of Maryland to the old English custom of pluralities because he gave up St. James's without a struggle.<sup>141</sup>

His establishment in the new parish was not however to pass without incident. When he arrived in Frederick a petition for the division of the parish had already been drawn up but he did not expect that his induction would be opposed until "Information was brought that Letters had arrived from Annapolis to . . . a Vestryman with a Bag full of C. D.'s last curious Performances. . . . There were private Letters recommending all kind of Violence even to Murder & that it was a shame I should have so good a Parish. . . ." <sup>142</sup> He then concluded that a plot was brewing to prevent his taking possession of the church and when he "saw the Storm" he "anticipated it. On Saturday I got the Keys went into the Church read prayers the 39 articles & my Induction."<sup>143</sup> This action was contrary to the usual procedure which was to present the letter of induction to the vestry and to obtain the keys of the church from them; Allen used the less orthodox method of persuading the sexton's serving maid to part with the keys.<sup>144</sup> The outraged vestry then had the doors of the church bolted but the parson was not at a loss; he arose at four on Sunday morning and with the aid of a ladder got in a window.<sup>145</sup> When the members of the vestry arrived they pointed out, no doubt with some heat, that his behaviour was indecent and irregular since "no Induction had been shewn to them, by which he ought to be admitted into the Church . . ." and that the parishioners "wished not to receive him until the result of their petition for the division of the parish was known."<sup>146</sup> The parson answered that their jurisdiction over the church had ended when his induction had been signed by the governor.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Sharpe to Hamersley, May 27, 1768, *ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>141</sup> By the end of the year another clergyman was officiating as rector and in August, 1769, he received his induction. Vestry meetings, December 12, 1768, and August 1, 1769, Vestry Proceedings, St. James's.

<sup>142</sup> Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> "A Parishioner of All Saints," *Maryland Gazette*, September 1, 1768.

<sup>145</sup> Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501.

<sup>146</sup> "A Parishioner of All Saints," *loc. cit.*

<sup>147</sup> Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501. Walter Dulany agreed with Allen that the consent of the vestry was not necessary but, he said, "Ye



The members of the vestry then made a dignified withdrawal and the parson, according to his own story,

leap't into the Desk & made my Apology & begun the Service. The Congregation was call'd out. I proceeded as if nothing had happened till the Second Lesson. I heard some Commotions from without which gave me a little Alarm & I provided luckily against it or I must have been maim'd if not murder'd. they call'd a number of their Bravest that is to say their largest Men to pull me out of the Desk. I let the Captain come to within two paces of me & clapt my Pistol to his Head. What Consternation! they accuse me of swearing by God I wo<sup>d</sup> shoot him, & I believe I did swear, w<sup>ch</sup> was better than praying just then.<sup>148</sup> [The congregation] startled at the impious Sound from the Place, where they were used to be delighted with tender Lessons of Religion and Morality, retired; but returning, resolutely told the Parson if he did not quit the Church, they would make the neglect very disagreeable in its Consequences.<sup>149</sup>

Firm words, according to Allen, were not their only weapons; "the Doors & Windows flying open & Stones beginning to Rattle my Aid de Camp Mr Dakein<sup>150</sup> advised me to retreat, the Fort being no longer tenable."<sup>151</sup> In fact he retreated hastily to Philadelphia in what appears from his actions to have been a chastened and conciliatory mood. Before he left he appointed a curate who was popular with the parishioners and implied that at some future date he might consent to a division of the parish.<sup>152</sup>

He was, however, furious with the Dulany's whom he believed to be behind the opposition he had been met with in Frederick. Formerly, he said, Daniel Dulany had opposed reducing the size of Maryland parishes because "he wanted to keep some large Livings for Mr Walter's Sons . . ." but when Allen received the appointment to All Saint's Walter Dulany not only influenced the

Treatment he met with" was the result of his refusing to conform to back country customs; "as People of ye middling Class entertain a Great Reverance for old & established customs and have not Sagacity enough to distinguish between Substance & Formality, they thought the Parson had no Right to enter ye Church without their previous Consent." W. D. to Hamersley, September 29, 1768, Dulany Papers, II, 51.

<sup>148</sup> Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501-2. Later he said he was not conscious of having used the expression of which he was accused and explained that the presence of the pistol was "accidental, and owing to a Caution that the Road was infested with Robbers." *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 12, 1768.

<sup>149</sup> "A Parishioner of All Saints," *Maryland Gazette*, September 1, 1768.

<sup>150</sup> The master of the Free School in Annapolis.

<sup>151</sup> Allen to Sharpe, June 6, 1768, *Archives*, XIV, 501. He injected a touch of race prejudice into the affair by stating that the mob was headed by a Jew, *ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> He wrote to Sharpe "I really think it would be paying the People too great a Complm<sup>t</sup> to consent to the Division immediately but your Excellency understands the Genius and Temper of the People better than I do," *ibid.*

vestry to oppose his induction<sup>153</sup> but also incited the mob to attack him.<sup>154</sup> Both accusations were indignantly denied by Walter Dulany in a letter to Lord Baltimore's secretary:

The Man has ye Effrontry to charge me with exciting this Riot against him, when it most evidently proceeded from his own indiscretion & impious act at a time when I was at 80 Miles Distance. . . . To what was ye Tumult owing? Most certainly to ye Pistol—to ye Oath and ye violent & vindictive Spirit ye Parson discover'd upon ye Occasion. . . . I had no Hand directly or indirectly in promoting this Disturbance . . . or in giving any kind of Opposition to M<sup>r</sup> Allens being rec'd into All Saints Parish, as he has most falsely & maliciously suggested. . . .<sup>155</sup>

*(To be concluded)*

<sup>153</sup> This was denied as a groundless and dirty insinuation against an independent body which was "not to be guided by any man." "A Parishioner of All Saints," *Maryland Gazette*, September 1, 1768.

<sup>154</sup> *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, September 12, 1768.

<sup>155</sup> W. D. to Hamersley, September 29, 1768, Dulany Papers.

## MAGIC IN EARLY BALTIMORE

By MILBOURNE CHRISTOPHER

The first magician to perform in a Baltimore theatre exhibited his wonders on the evening of Monday, November 26th, 1787, at the "Old Theatre," a playhouse long since demolished but which stood on East Baltimore Street.<sup>1</sup> His name, Signior Falconi; his magic, to quote the *Maryland Gazette*, "they [the audience] had never seen before, in this part of the world, any thing equal to it."

Little wonder, for Falconi's "Natural Philosophical Experiments" were varied and curious. A "sympathetic" windmill started or stopped at the audience's whim, an automaton "in a Turkish dress" answered "by signs" questions put to it, and predicted the numbers which came up on two dice rolled by a volunteer. Then, too, there were "Experiments of the CATOPTIC, or appearances produced by the reflection of Mirrors" and Signior Falconi himself foretold beforehand "the Combinations or Arrangements of four different Numbers, given by anyone of the Company."

His concluding feat was especially striking. A slip of paper bearing a written question was loaded into a pistol and fired out of the theatre, whereupon a dove instantly appeared with the answer in its beak. Even today this would "create wonderment."

Falconi, originally, was to have appeared at the Old Theatre six days earlier. He lamented the delay in the *Gazette*, but added that the "Moisture of atmosphere" would certainly have been unfavorable for his "Experiment of Expulsion by Electricity."

Delighted by his reception in Baltimore, the Italian illusionist prolonged his engagement and in succeeding weeks stressed new and intriguing tricks in his many advertisements. Among them, the "Talisman Chinois," the "Incomprehensible Polomoscope," and "Theophrastus Paracelsus." Were, I wonder, Falconi's tricks as baffling to his audiences as their names are to me? Note-worthy were his remote control mysteries. At a distance of twelve feet Falconi stopped and started borrowed watches and though

<sup>1</sup> Presumably this was the earliest building erected for theatrical purposes. It stood on the north side of the street opposite Lloyd Street and opened Jan. 15, 1782.

a "SOLID GOLD HEAD" as large as a walnut was "sealed up in a tumbler," he made it clang against the sides to answer questions.

As was the custom of the period, Falconi sold seats to spectators who wanted to sit on the stage. The demand must have been great for he said that he could only seat two persons on either side without interfering with his "business." A shrewd showman, Falconi requested those who had seen him perform to refrain from telling of his surprises so that he could "delight each new audience completely."

Admission to the show of wonders was "three quarters of a dollar" in the boxes and fifty cents in the pit and the curtain rose at the early hour of six.

Falconi's first known show in this hemisphere was a failure. In June, 1786, handbills were distributed in Mexico City telling of Falconi's success in the courts of Naples, France and Portugal. The day after the opening, however, a jester "dressed in blue and gold" appeared in the theatre's vestibule and announced that the show had been a fiasco.<sup>2</sup>

Signor Falconi and his "Phisionotrace," a device for "Taking Likenesses" were in Bermuda in 1819. He took four profiles for half a dollar. They could be made normal size, he said, or small enough to fit in a finger ring. So confident was he of his machine that he advertised in the *Bermuda Gazette and Hamilton and St. George's Weekly Advertiser* for Saturday, November 6, 1819, "No resemblance no payment." No mention was made of his magic. Perhaps he had given up his conjuring, or had someone appropriated his name?

While Falconi was the first magician to perform in a Baltimore theatre it is possible, even probable, that long before his coming traveling sleight-of-hand men had shown their tricks in Maryland homes or taverns. Hyman Saunders, a magician who performed "without descending to the low tricks of cups, balls, ribbands, etc." claimed in a Jamaican paper a performance before "his excellency, Robert Green, Esq., Governor of Maryland."<sup>3</sup> Alas, there was no Governor Robert Green of Maryland at the time. Perhaps Saunders did perform before a Maryland governor, pos-

<sup>2</sup> David T. Bamberg, "History of Magic and Magicians in Mexico," in the *Sphinx*, May, 1938.

<sup>3</sup> *Jamaica Gazette*, March 25, 1775.

## OLD THEATRE.

THIS EVENING, *November 20th, 1787,*

SIGNIOR FALCONI,

Will have the honor to perform his first REPRESENTATION  
of *Natural Philosophical*

## EXPERIMENTS.

IT would be tedious to describe the many objects which this Performance will consist of, but he can, without vanity, assure the Public, that they will not find themselves disappointed in their expectations.—From the following list of some few of his Experiments, it will give the Public a small idea how far he will be deserving of engaging their attention. Having always met in *Europe* with general approbation, he is in hopes of having the same success in *America*.

1. A sympathetic WIND-MILL, that will work or stop at the command of any of the company.

2. Some Experiments of the CATOPTRIC, or appearances produced by the reflection of Mirrors.

3. A number of Sentiments will be handed to the Company, which any person retaining in their mind, a little artificial Butterfly will reply to them.

4. A small FIGURE, in a Turkish dress, will answer all Questions by signs, and will guess the number any Lady or Gentleman may throw with two dice.

5. Likewise, any Lady or Gentleman, may throw the dice under a hat, unseen by any person, the above-mentioned Figure will tell the number.

6. The EXPULSION, by Electricity, an entire new discovery.

7. To oblige, by sympathy, the will of three persons.

8. To tell before-hand, the Combinations or Arrangements of four different Numbers, given by any one of the Company.

There are several other Experiments too tedious to enumerate, which the Performer omits mentioning, not wishing to anticipate the pleasure and surprise the Company may receive from them.

*Every Night of Performing entirely New.*

The last Experiment of this first Representation, and with which he will conclude, will be striking and new. The following very surprising Experiment, which has been allowed by Connoisseurs to be the most astonishing ever exhibited. Signior FALCONI, will desire any person to write any Question they may please on paper, to be signed by as many of the Company as chuse; any person will be at liberty to put it into a loaded pistol, and discharge it out of the Theatre; the Performer will neither see or touch the paper, and to the astonishment of the Spectators, a DOVE will instantly appear with the answer in his bill.

\* \* TICKETS to be had of Mrs. *Montgomery*, next Door to the Theatre, and at Mr. *Hayes's* Printing-Office.

BOXES, *Three Quarters of a Dollar.*—PIT, *Half a Dollar.*

⚡ The Doors to be opened at Five, and to begin precisely at Six o'Clock.

First Known Advertisement of a Magician in Maryland.  
From the *Maryland Gazette*, Baltimore, Nov. 20, 1787.  
Actually the Performance Was Postponed to Nov. 26th.

sibly Sir Robert Eden. Even this would not be conclusive, for as early as 1770 Saunders was appearing in New York and elsewhere and a Governor of Maryland may have seen him outside the colony. If, however, early Marylanders did see Hyman Saunders they saw a versatile sorcerer. During the course of his program he fried German pancakes in a borrowed hat, made a piece of money fly from hand to hand, passed a borrowed ring on a sword held between two spectators and pulled off an onlooker's shirt without removing his coat or waistcoat.

The *Baltimore Daily Repository* of September 7, 1792, carried the following advertisement:

By permission Quick Silver (Just arrived in town) will perform this evening in the house of Mr. Henry Speck, at the sign of the Indian-Queen in Water Street, a number of surprising feats of activity, such as balancing, with a number of other exploits too numerous to mention.

To conclude with great Dexterity of hand the same as Breslaw exhibited in London with universal applause. This performance will be on every Wednesday and Saturday evening, to begin precisely at 7 o'clock P. M. Admittance one quarter of a dollar for grown persons and half price for children. He will at any time that does not interfere with his set nights perform a number of feats for any company that may choose to employ him, either by day or night. Vivat Republica.

Wainwright and Co. presented "a number of Pleasing and entertaining curiosities of Dexterity, with Money and a vast Number of seeming Impossibilities, such as Eating Fire, in a most surprising manner" on the evening of March 15, 1793, at the Old Theatre. Along with the magic, puppets three feet tall from England were exhibited and there was tumbling by a "young man from Edinburgh with the humors of a clown."<sup>4</sup>

In 1794 Falconi was back in Baltimore. This time at the New Theatre (near Lower Bridge). Featured now in his "Philosophical Performances" was the "Sagacious Mermaid," a figure in water which held a sword in its hand and performed "a number of entertaining and instructive experiments." Incidentally Falconi (or was it the printer) was now spelling the title before his name "Seignior." Later he simplified it to "Signor." Falconi stressed that he offered his soirees "without the assistance of an illusive puffing advertisement which often disappointed the expectations of the Public." He went on to say that he purposely

<sup>4</sup> *Baltimore Daily Repository*, March 15, 1793.

omitted many particulars about his performance so as to "have it in his power the more agreeably to surprise the audience." Bowing to late comers, his curtain now rose at six-thirty instead of at six.<sup>5</sup>

Much admired in Falconi's new show were his Chinese Shades (shadows), especially one which danced a hornpipe "equal to a dancing master." New tricks included "The Incomparable Swan," the "Horizontal Dial," "Blind Combination," the "Astonishing Sealed Snuff Box" and "The Ring on the Stick." The last mentioned, by the way, is still popular with present day conjurers. The titles of his tricks now tell something of their nature rather than hide and confuse.

Falconi during his absence from the city, had stepped up his "mathemagical mysteries." He now foretold the sum of *six* columns of numbers written by as many spectators. The "Signor" added a new automaton in February, 1794. An Indian figure, armed with a bow and arrow, hit selected numbers with its released arrow. Further, two or even three dice could be rolled under a hat, yet before it was lifted the Indian marksman would indicate the correct total. To entice his audiences to come earlier Falconi slyly announced that he would open his performance with the new figure.

"Weather permitting," announced Falconi on February 19, he would perform the "Ring and Orange," another mystery even now in the repertoires of magicians, the effect being to pass a borrowed ring into the center of an examined orange. Also, he promised a spectacle "Thunderstorm at Sea." This he described in great detail. It was a machine, he said, which produced the effect of "Swelling of the Sea and Waves rolling with Incredible Impetuosity: the Sky wonderfully covered with Clouds, the natural appearance of the Hail, with its concomitant noise; and a Brig in Distress, which after a struggle is dismasted and goes down."

Baltimore spring weather was too bad for his "Thunderstorm at Sea." On March 12, he said that, though advertised four times before, "changeable weather" caused him to postpone his performance. Now to satisfy those previously disappointed he promised in addition to his usual wonders, a new finish to his

<sup>5</sup> *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Daily Repository*, January-February, 1794.



Dove trick (the one in which a dove brings an answer to a question shot out of the theatre by a pistol). To top it off a "Genius of monstrous size" would reproduce the original question. Bowing even lower to latecomers, Falconi announced that his curtain would now rise at seven instead of six-thirty.

On February 17, 1794, the showmanly sorcerer announced a showing of his most popular tricks so that a newcomer to his entertainment could get the cream of his conjuring at one sitting. Still annoyed by stragglers, he added "Ladies and gentlemen be punctual" to his advertisement. Falconi was not one to quibble. In Jamaica in 1801 he boldly remarked in his advertising: "In a community like this, such things [performances of magic] ought to be encouraged; it fills up those hours after dinner too often devoted to the pernicious pleasures of the bottle."

Falconi had a knack of tying in current events with his performance. At the New Theatre in Baltimore on February 22, 1794, he presented a "Representation of engagement between Ambuscade and Boston Frigate taken from accounts published in the New-York papers." Obviously, this was a reworking of his "Thunderstorm at Sea." Catering to French refugees who were flowing into Baltimore at this time, he announced his performances in both English and French. Years later (1816) he again capitalized on the news. During his New York engagements the "ghost" of J.-J. Rousseau manifested itself nightly on his stage.

Soon after Falconi's run at the New Theatre a Mr. Cressin came to town with "two strange animals"—Co-co and Gibonne. Gibonne, the female monkey, as one of her stunts had an onlooker replace a selected card in a pack, whereupon after the time honored magical custom, she discovered it. This was at "Two Flags near lower end of the Market House" in July, 1794.<sup>6</sup>

A "Magic Bush" which changed into a "Tailor without a Head" was a feature of "Harlequin's Invasion," a pantomime presented at the New Theatre on November 24th, 1795. I was delighted to discover that a "Mr. Milbourne" designed the "scenery."<sup>7</sup>

John Rannie, ventriloquist, posture maker and magician, came to Mr. Wyant's Ball Room in November, 1802.<sup>8</sup> He offered

<sup>6</sup> *Baltimore Daily Repository*, July 11, 1794.

<sup>7</sup> *Federal Intelligencer*, Nov. 24, 1795.

<sup>8</sup> *Federal Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1802.

among other things "Arts and Experiments and real power of attraction by the magical wand." The sort of thing that was once called witchcraft, Rannie said, but he freely admitted "All is deception and experiment." Tobacco-smoking Baltimoreans were warned beforehand. "No segars to be smoked in the room."

OLD THEATRE.

On FRIDAY EVENING next, will be performed one of

# Signior FALCONI's

Principal P I E C E S, called

*Theophrastus Paracelsus.*

This Performance will exhibit a **SOLID GOLD HEAD**, as big as a Walnut, which will be sealed up in a Tumbler, and will answer every Question by signs. The discovery is entirely new, and excited the admiration of the curious in several parts of Europe.

\* \* TICKETS to be had of Mrs. *Montgomery*, next Door to the Theatre, and at Mr. *Hayer's* Printing-Office.

BOXES, *Three Quarters of a Dollar—PIT,*  
*Half a Dollar.*

☞ The Doors to be opened at *Five*, and to begin precisely at *Six* o'clock.

Baltimore, December 3, 1787.

From the *Maryland Gazette*, Baltimore, Dec. 4, 1787.

There were, by the way, two Mr. Rannies performing at this time. The first played in New York in December, 1801, with his ventriloquism and the trick of beheading a rooster then restoring it. The second arrived two months later. He billed himself as Mr. Rannie, Senior, and he pointed out that he had been in Boston 46 nights previously and that this was *his* second American engagement. This Mr. Rannie, too, was a ventriloquist, and he,

too, performed feats of curious magic. This poses a problem. Which Mr. Rannie came to Baltimore in November, 1802.

Two animal "mentalists" were on view in 1807. The first was Spottie, an "African horse." Spottie, according to the *American and Commercial Advertiser*,<sup>9</sup> was of four colors, spotted like a leopard and had a tail like an elephant. This curiosity added, multiplied, subtracted, divided, told the time by a watch and counted "the number of buttons on a gentleman's coat."

Soon after this the "Goat of Knowledge" came to town and amused Baltimoreans by not only reading and spelling but also, like Gibbone, discovering chosen cards in a shuffled pack.<sup>10</sup>

In January, 1811, Mr. Martin offered his "Philomathematical amusements intermixed with pleasing feats of Dexterity, Surprise and Deception" plus "Phantasmagoria" each evening but Saturday at six in Mr. Barney's Assembly Room.<sup>11</sup> Three years before his Baltimore visit, Mr. Martin had been the center of an amusing controversy in New York. A critical New Yorker said in a letter to the *Commercial Advertiser* that the place where Mr. Martin was then performing was once a church but now "a place of amusement for vulgar minds." Not only were tricks displayed, he went on, but "the devil dances on stilts to the tune of a hand organ." Magician Martin snapped back that since the criticism more people than ever were coming to see the devil dance, and that though he had originally planned leaving New York that week he would stay and show curious New Yorkers "as many devils" as they might care to see.

Sad epilogue. In a postscript to Mr. Martin's first advertisement in Baltimore he offered all of his "machines" for sale, and said that he himself would instruct the purchasers in their use. Perhaps Mr. Martin had tired making the devils dance.

<sup>9</sup> Sept. 12, 1807. Spottie was on view at Mr. Cook's tavern, Market Space.

<sup>10</sup> *American*, Nov. 20, 1807. The Goat of Knowledge was shown at Mr. Myer's Tavern, 25 Marsh Market Space.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1811.

## CAPTAIN ROBERT MORRIS OF RATCLIFFE MANOR

By LOUIS DOW SCISCO

The first recorded presence of Captain Robert Morris in Maryland was in June, 1653. In that year Captain Samuel Tilghman's ship, the *Golden Fortune*, lay at St. Mary's. Thomas Kedger of St. Mary's owed Tilghman four pounds sterling and, to cover the debt, he shipped on Tilghman's vessel a hogshead of tobacco consigned to a London man. When the ship reached England, however, everything went wrong with the tobacco and Kedger's debt was unpaid. After an unexplained wait of five years Tilghman sued Kedger. As evidence he brought a written declaration of Robert Morris stating the history of Kedger's hogshead. Morris must have been a ship officer on Tilghman's vessel in 1653, for no other could have known the circumstances so fully. Morris seems to have been voyaging regularly to the colonies, for he says that he met Kedger's servant in Virginia two years after the hogshead incident and talked with him about the matter.

Both Tilghman and Morris described themselves as mariners by trade and as residents of Ratcliffe in England. Many of the ship captains who plied between England and the colonies were Ratcliffe men. It is an outlying section of the London area, located on the Thames River where ships are berthed.<sup>1</sup>

By 1657 Morris had won to the grade of shipmaster and was still sailing between the mother country and the colonies. The Maryland storekeeper Basil Little visited England that year and, with goods and servants, sailed for home on Morris's ship. On the voyage he died. Before his death he made Morris and Henry Meese his executors. Morris filed executor's bond in December, 1657, describing himself as a merchant. The estate was settled expeditiously and without any difficulties that required court action.

Proprietary rule was restored in Maryland on March 24, 1658, one result of which was that it again became possible to obtain

<sup>1</sup> No evidence has been found of relationship between Captain Robert Morris and Robert Morris of Liverpool who appeared in Talbot County by or before 1741, and was the father of the Revolutionary financier Morris, of Philadelphia. There was another Morris family of Philadelphia descended from Anthony Morris, also from Ratcliffe, but here again, no evidence of relationship was found.

proprietary land grants. There must have been much talk in the colony about the new opportunities thus opened. Captains Tilghman and Morris were among those interested. On June 2, 1658, Morris obtained a land warrant for 1000 acres with manor rights. Later he acquired rights for 200 acres more. In the following year surveys were made. On July 27, 1659, the 200 acres were located by a survey of Poole's Island. In August the surveyor laid out three manors at Choptank River, one for Dr. Richard Tilghman, one for Captain Samuel Tilghman, and one for Robert Morris. Patents were issued on January 17, 1659-60. Morris called his land Ratcliffe Manor, after his English home. It does not appear that either of the captains made any immediate effort to establish working plantations on their holdings.

In 1660 the records reveal a defamation suit brought against Morris by Thomas Burdit. Morris's witnesses at the trial were men from his ship. They said that Burdit was on board their ship in Patuxent River when Morris entertained Henry and William Coursey. Liquor was brought out and, as etiquette demanded, the Courseys were brought drinks just before they went over the side. Meanwhile Burdit slipped a bottle in his pocket but was caught before he could get away. The comments that Morris made rankled in Burdit's mind. The court heard the evidence and said Burdit had failed to prove his case.

For the next few years Morris seems to have made his regular annual voyages without important incident. Of necessity he carried tobacco, and probably staves, as most ships did. Also he had passengers, one of whom he sued in 1661 to recover passage costs. In 1665 John Wright complained that certain untoward incidents prevented him from sending his commercial accounts to England by Morris's ship. In 1667 when master of the ship *King David* he had some trouble in Virginia on a charge of violating English statutes. No details of the affair have been preserved.

Captain Tilghman abandoned his plantation project and in 1664 sold his manor tract, but Morris was more persistent. In the winter of 1667-68 he was in Maryland and planning to stock his plantation with New England horses. The Massachusetts Historical Society has the following letter, written to the younger John Winthrop, then governor of Connecticut:

Honored Cussen

Sir I having bin informed that you have great store of horses and

mares which you make little youse of: If you please to doe mee the Favor to seend mee tow of your largest well spred young mares For Breeders by Mr Will Gard or aney other bound For Wey River in Mary-land I shall order you your pay heare in the hands of Mr Will Corsey or If you please to charge mee with ye valew of them in money starling shall pay your bills at home in England and ye above said Corsey will pay ye Mr the freight heare in Marey land (Sir the occasion is that I want them for my plantation)

If you charge bills I live wheare you know in Radcliffe over against the stone tavern

Brother Gostlin was verely eill when I went From home and his good wiffe is dead and I Feare the children will not find him have so great an estate as wos thought For all men that he hath to doe with cheate him. Sir I have not ellice but humble servis and please to command mee as much heare or in England and I shall be glad of opertunitiey to serve you and am Sir your assured Loving Kindsman

Wey River in Marey Land  
this 8 of Febb: 1667/8

Robt Morris

William Gard, mentioned in the letter, was master of a small freighter sailing between New England and Maryland. In the preceding year, 1667, the St. Mary's officials had seized Gard's boat for a small infraction of the navigation law. Morris now ransomed the boat and took a bill of sale, dated April 1668, from the provincial government.

On June 5, 1668, under instructions from England, the Maryland governor designated eleven entry ports. All incoming ships were required to load and unload at these ports and not elsewhere. Morris seems at this time to have been in favor with the authorities, for one of the ports was on his property of Poole's Island and another port was on his manor land at Tredavon Creek.

In some way, during this year 1668, unexplained in the records, a quarrel developed between Morris and John Morecroft, the St. Mary's lawyer. Morecroft had been Gard's lawyer in the confiscation affair, but the quarrel is not linked with that matter. When Morris sailed home again at the close of summer he called upon Lord Baltimore at his Westminster home and made some sort of complaint, which also has not found its way into the records, but which seems to have led the lord proprietor to communicate with St. Mary's.

In the spring of 1669 when Morris again reached the colony he was promptly sued by Morecroft on a charge of defamatory

words to the lord proprietary. Morecroft was too good a lawyer not to know that the suit was untenable. The action looks like intimidation. Then, in April, two things occurred almost coincidentally. About April 15 Morris filed charges with the General Assembly impugning Morecroft's character as a member of that body, and on April 20 a new proclamation by the governor revised the list of entry ports. The new list of entry ports did not include Poole's Island or Ratcliffe Manor. Possibly the two events were unconnected, but appearances suggest that Morecroft influenced the governor's action.

In his complaint to the Assembly, Morris made three charges; first, that Morecroft had tried to stretch Maryland law to cover acts done in England; second, that he had taken excessive legal fees and had contracted for legal service on a yearly basis; third, that in a specific instance he had served both plaintiff and defendant. Morecroft's answer to the first charge was perfunctory. To the second he replied that his acts were conformable to English practice and were not contrary to Maryland law. To the third, he said that, in the instance named, the parties had two suits instead of one, and the shift of his legal service was entirely proper. When the matter came before the upper house of the Assembly it exonerated Morecroft and gently rebuked the lower house for taking up the charges. None of Morris's charges throw any clear light on the cause of his quarrel with the lawyer.

In the papers of this contest Morris is once described as "late of Talbot County mariner" and Morecroft refers to him as "Robert Morris, who is no member of this province, but a foreigner and a stranger." Apparently any plantation plans that he had were now abandoned. On August 12, 1674, Morris and wife Martha deeded Ratcliffe Manor to James Wasse of London, who took out a new patent for it in 1676. Morris did not make any conveyance of his rights in Poole's Island.

After 1674 Morris's name disappears from the recorded affairs of Maryland. Very probably his employers shifted his routings. He next appears in Virginia records, where he demeaned himself creditably during the short period of Bacon's rebellion.

In September, 1676, the ship *Young Prince*, Captain Robert Morris in command, anchored in James River along with other English vessels. Rebel forces were active in the vicinity and



Morris put himself at the governor's service. The ship became "a receptacle for the loyal party." Morris and his crew aided in the capture of a rebel fort, and for a time the ship was used for imprisonment of captured rebels. In 1677 he sailed home to England with grateful testimonials of the help he had given. Two years later Morris and two other shipmasters asked the English government to repay their expenditures during their service in Virginia. On March 19, 1679, the privy council ordered payment of awards to them and also directed that their names be presented to the admiralty office as persons worthy of naval employment.

This commendation from the highest government body in England is the last definite reference to Morris's career. He was now probably a man in his fifties and about due for retirement from sea service.

Meanwhile Poole's Island in Maryland lay unclaimed by title. John Carville of Cecil County took possession. About 1700, when the sheriff reported on his rent roll he stated as follows: "The said Morris being dead he left the same to a man in New York; land uncultivated; noe rent made here this 20 yeares." There was an influential Morris family in New York at this time, but its earlier members came originally from the Welsh border and they seem quite unrelated to Captain Morris. His family was still in England. He had two sons, Robert and John. Carville opened communication with the heirs and got a deed for Poole's Island. The deed, dated March 14, 1706-07, recites that John Morris of London is brother and heir of Robert Morris deceased, son of Robert Morris, mariner, late of London, also deceased, and goes on to convey 200 acres of land constituting the island.

In his letter to the younger Winthrop the captain refers to himself as a kinsman of Winthrop. He was a cousin by marriage. The elder John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts, had a sister Jane who married Thomas Gostlin, a clothier of Groton, Eng. Jane presented her husband with four sons and eight daughters. The eldest son, Benjamin Gostlin, was a well-known shipmaster of his time, making long voyages to distant parts of the world. His home was at Ratcliffe and it is he to whom Morris refers as "Brother Gostlin" in the letter of 1668. The third daughter, Margaret Gostlin, married Thomas Heathcote and went

to live in Antigua where her husband was a plantation manager. Their son George Heathcote also became a shipmaster with quarters at Ratcliffe, but later transferred his home to New York and died there. It probably is he whom the sheriff meant when he reported Poole's Island as belonging to "a man in New York." The seventh daughter of the Gostlins was Martha Gostlin, who became wife of Captain Morris. She was born about 1630 and survived her husband. She was well advanced in years when her son sold Poole's Island in 1707, and at that time she received four guineas for signing away her widow's rights in the island.

## THE CALVERT-STIER CORRESPONDENCE

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

(Continued from Volume XXXVIII, page 272, September, 1943)

The Calvert-Stier family letters assumed a more personal note after the death of Rosalie Calvert Stier in 1821. Her oldest children, who carried on the correspondence with their uncle in Belgium, did not discuss the affairs of the world. Their letters were shorter and dealt almost entirely with personal experiences.

Caroline Maria Calvert was twenty-one years old when she penned her first letter to Jean Charles Stier. She devoted all of its contents to an account of her mother's last illness and to a description of the sculptured tombstone erected as a memorial.

[Caroline M. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Riversdale, July 27, 1821]

. . . You ask me for the details of the last illness and of the end of my dearly loved Mother. She was obliged to keep to her bed from the beginning of the winter on account of the lameness which I believe she described to my Aunt Van Havre. At first we hoped that she would be cured, but I think she herself felt her end was approaching. But this moment had no terrors for one who had for several years regulated life by the laws of Holy Scripture. During the intervals of cessation of pain, she was busied in giving directions to her gardener, and even separated a quantity of seeds herself and said where and how she wished them to be planted. She instructed us in the most careful way in the management of the household. The day before her death she gave something to every one of her friends who surrounded her and to all her servants. She consigned her children to their father and to the care of the Almighty. She was buried with her four children on an eminence not far from the house, and my father has ordered a beautiful white marble tombstone, which is nearly finished. On the head panel he had executed by an Italian sculptor the figure in low relief of my mother ascending to Heaven on a cloud, and a little higher, four angels, her children, are stretching out their arms to receive her into the Celestial City. . . .

George Henry Calvert was eighteen and a student at Harvard College when he took up his part in the trans-Atlantic exchange of news. He commented at length on his studies and gave interesting glimpses of life at the University in Cambridge.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Cambridge, Mass., August 10, 1821]

. . . My father has always intended that I should go to Europe as soon

as I have finished my education in this country. I have been two years at Cambridge and have two more to remain, at the expiration of which I shall graduate. I am perfectly well satisfied with my situation, and much more so than whilst at boarding school near Philadelphia at which I was for six years, with the exception of a month in each year which I spent at home. Since I have been in Cambridge I have studied Latin and Greek and Mathematics, exclusively, and am now just entering on the more interesting studies of Metaphisicks and Natural Philosophy. Whilst I was at school in Germantown near Philadelphia I acquired a knowledge of the French language and could speak and read it with as much ease as English. But, having passed two years without conversing, except when accidentally I have met with foreigners who could speak no other language but French, I find it now somewhat difficult to keep up a conversation, although I can read with facility, and can understand another person who is speaking. I fear that you will be disappointed at finding that I write to you in English, but I hope that you will readily excuse me; for although I could have written this in French, yet I could not express myself so clearly as in English and should perhaps have given you an incorrect specimen of my knowledge of the language. Very little attention is here paid to French or Spanish, and to study them or not is optional with the students.

I have now passed the most tiresome and disagreeable part (if any part of the college life is disagreeable) of my college course and have the most interesting and pleasant portion of the four years in anticipation. I have just commenced attending the Lectures, from which the student receives more instruction than from any of the college studies. It is on account of the lectures that are delivered at this University that it holds a front rank among the colleges of this country, and indeed in this respect it is very little inferior to the first universities of Europe. I look forward to the expiration of the time that I have to remain here, after which I hope I shall cross the Atlantick to visit those who are so dear to me. . . .

The letters for the next few years are missing, so there is a gap in the correspondence. When it is picked up again, young George has graduated from Harvard (in 1823) and has gone to Europe to see his relatives and to study history and philosophy at Göttingen. He spent the better part of two years in these pleasant tasks, then turned westward through the Low Countries to England. His comments on judging horses and paintings, sounding very much alike, reflect his youthfulness.

[Jean Charles Stier to George Calvert, Clydael, October 29, 1825]

Your son George arrived with us on the 8th instant on his way from Göttingen to London and Edinburgh. A few days passed among his friends will be useful to him as a relief from the past and as a preparation for future studies which he is disposed to continue with persevering

alacrity. At this moment he is making himself acquainted with our Flemish language, interesting to him as well for present use as for its connection with the original English and German languages. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Ostend, (November, 1825)]

You see by my date that I have been disappointed, and you will readily conclude that nothing but bad weather could have detained me. The weather is now however calm and the wind favourable so that I sail tonight and shall dine tomorrow in London if we have as prosperous a voyage as the weather-wise promise us. I found on arriving at Ghent that the diligence left it every day for Ostend at 1 P.M. so that I might have made a single day's journey of the whole distance. I found at Ghent an Englishman, a gentleman and an excellent companion, with whom I came on to this place in the boat—a most comfortable way of travelling when one happens to have pleasant company. Had the captain of the steam boat been of my mind we would have sailed last night for the weather was not bad. The steam vessel in which I am going is not a remarkably fine one—she was out 2 nights ago in a storm. I walked down yesterday to the lighthouse to have a fine view of my old friend the ocean. The wind was high and the sea agitated by the past storms, so that I renewed my acquaintance after two years separation under the most favourable circumstances. . . .

P.S. The Englishman with whom I came from Ghent is I'll warrant as good a judge of *Horse flesh* as any man in the world. He came on to Belgium to see the country and finding horses cheap he bought a few dozen (mostly work-horses) shipped them to England and in a few weeks cleared 300 pounds! I went with him this morning to examine some which he wished to purchase, and although to be able to judge of Horses is not to be learned in a few minutes, I have learnt at least the *forms*, as it were, of examination and could pass among the *uninitiated* for a connoisseur.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, London, December 4, 1825]

It is now three weeks since my arrival in London. I had already fixed the day of my departure several days sooner than today when the arrival of my friend and classmate W. Amory of Boston induced me to delay my journey in order to be a few days with him. He left London yesterday with a younger brother for Göttingen, and I leave tomorrow. I have obtained a letter of introduction to Edinburgh from a gentleman who had been several years in America. He tells me that his friend to whom he has given me this introduction will make me acquainted with the gay society of Edinburgh, so that with the letter I brought from Germany and the acquaintances I already have in Scotland I trust I shall find myself very comfortable.

I have not seen the Chapeau de Paille<sup>32</sup> not being able to find out

<sup>32</sup> Rembrandt Peale's comments on Rubens' painting, the *Chapeau de Paille*, and its place in the Stier collection, have been quoted previously.

where it is. However it is not the last time that I shall be in London and I shall make a point of seeing it before I leave Europe. I have been much gratified by seeing the painter my country man West<sup>33</sup> whom I mentioned to you. His portrait of Byron is remarkably fine. As soon as I saw his pictures I perceived that he was not of the mixture school. There are two other Americans here who are receiving 4 and 500 pounds a piece for all the pictures they paint. The British Gallery is not open and will not be for some time. I have seen Sir T. Lawrence's portraits again. You cannot conceive my dear uncle how much I am indebted to you for your instructions in painting and in judging them. I find I can distinguish good ones almost at first sight among a crowd of bad ones. . . .

I have seen one of the docks which you recommended me to see. It was filled with vessels and was literally a "forest of masts." I have not visited the Theatre so much as I supposed I should do. The English themselves acknowledge that acting never was at so low an ebb as at the present moment. I find that sovereigns disappear out of one's pocket in London almost as rapidly as gute groshen do in Germany and have been obliged to make a hole in the £100 intended for Edinburgh. However it makes no difference as to the roundness of the sum, for Van Neck has given me poste notes instead of a Bill on a Banker. I go through York which is 200 miles from London and shall rest a day in it. Edinburgh is by the road I take 380 miles from London. I leave London tomorrow afternoon at 3½ and arrive at York Tuesday evening at 5. On Thursday I shall set out from York and in 22 hours arrive at Edinburgh. I have sent by waggon my box and one of my trunks. I will write to you soon after my arrival at Edinburgh. . . .

The winter of 1825-26 George spent in Edinburgh, and his letters to his uncle from that Scottish city provide interesting views of the life of a young American in a foreign scene, and his reactions to the place and the people. One gathers, for example, that there was a gay season, including a theatre—all involving more expense than the father and the uncle thought necessary!

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, December 27, 1825]

I must beg you to excuse me for deferring so long to inform you of my arrival and establishment in this place. However the reason for my doing so is that I could not sooner have said anything positive concerning my success with my letters of introduction. I dined yesterday with Mr. Douglass, one of the gentlemen to whom I had a letter. It was a large Christmas family-party and a very pleasant and sociable one. I made several interesting acquaintances and Mr. Douglass has already mentioned several families to which he will introduce me so that I hope in a short time to be generally acquainted. The other gentleman to whom I brought a letter I have only seen once and is for a fortnight absent from town. I found that

<sup>33</sup> William Edward West (1788-1857).



Madame Eude had left Scotland with her son a month before my arrival and was in London at the same time as I was. Her son was not *married* but had been in love with the daughter of Mrs. Rymer the lady with whom he boarded. This I have learnt from a German since I have come to the house (for I have taken Baron Eude's room). The lady is a handsome widow of 30 with three children one of them 13 years old. The Baron himself was 30. I don't know whether his mother came from Germany for the express purpose of preventing the match *so unworthy of a Saxon nobleman*, or whether she first learnt what the state of the case was on her arrival in Edinburgh. I assure you that there is no danger of my following his example. I have engaged my room for 3 months and am very well satisfied. I board in the house and have very good company. I have been several times to the theatre on the fashionable nights Saturday and Monday. I have however seen no beautiful women although a great many *goodlooking ones*. I hope in my next letter to be able to tell you more about them. I have recommended my studies which are English and Scotch history for the present. I attend no lectures. . . .

In my next letter I shall tell you more about Edinburgh of which I have as yet seen little, for the weather has been so foggy and wet that I have not yet viewed it from the most advantageous points. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, April 11, 1826]

. . . You really seem to think that my principal occupation at Edinburgh has been to make an ostentatious display of wealth and that I have been spending twice as much money as was necessary. That I have spent more than was absolutely necessary I have told you in another letter, but I have not been extravagant, and I am sure that any one of my acquaintances here would be surprised to hear me charged with being so. My dear father thinks that I am a little inclined that way, and on that account he talks so often of economy, wishing to check this supposed propensity; however I trust I shall be able to convince him when we meet at Liverpool that although I shall have spent in the last 7 months £300 I have not been so unreasonable as you appear to think I have. Of the £285 25 must be subtracted, being the amount of my tailor's bill whilst at Göttingen, leaving 260 which with the 40, which in my last letter I begged you to have the goodness to send to me, make up 300. Now when you consider that London is an expensive place even to a miser, that I was obliged also to get there a new outfit of clothes (and I am somewhat particular in dress) that *getting fixed* in a new place of abode is always attended with certain expenses and that a person going into Society is subject to a variety of unavoidable little expenditures, that boarding and lodging are so unreasonably dear in Edinburgh,—when all this is taken into consideration I declare I think that I should be acquitted even of being unreasonable. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, April 27, 1826]

. . . I had purposed to set out from Edinburgh about the 20th of May and after making a pedestrian tour through the most interesting part of



Scotland to proceed to Liverpool through Cumberland and Westmoreland, famous for their lakes, but an old classmate of Cambridge, whom I found here and who was to accompany me, having gone suddenly to London has disconcerted this plan and I have not yet substituted any other for it. . . .

The gaiety is at an end in Edinburgh and just commencing in London. I have not been out a great deal but quite sufficient to form a judgment (as far as my young experience in judging will admit) of Edinburgh society. Upon the whole it is unfavourable, and I shall no longer be quite so much shocked as I used to be before coming to Scotland, when I hear Englishmen abuse the Scotch. . . .

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Edinburgh, May 20, 1826]

. . . I shall certainly follow your advice and see at least a part of the Highlands of Scotland before leaving it. I set out tomorrow in the steam-boat for Aberdeen about 100 miles to the north of this. The boat goes in at several places on the coast so that I shall have an opportunity of seeing the country from points of view more interesting than I should have if I went by coach. I go to the neighborhood of Aberdeen to pass a few days with Colonel Wood who, as I mentioned to you in my last letter passed through Edinburgh some time ago and gave me a pressing invitation to come and spend some time with him, at his "cottage." From Aberdeen I shall go to Perth and from Perth to Loch Katrine famed since Sir W. Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. Thence to Glasgow and then through Carlisle and Cumberland to Liverpool. . . .

George Calvert, the father, and Eugenia, the younger sister—Caroline was married in 1823 to Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia—joined the son in June, 1826. The young man met them at Liverpool after his tour of the Highlands, and they went to London on the way to Rotterdam, where the older man had business to transact with the merchants who handled his tobacco shipments. Then the family visited the Stiers at "Clydael" and divided the winter between the social circles of Antwerp and Paris. The return to America was made in the spring of 1827, and the next letter, written in Philadelphia, describes the ocean voyage of thirty-five days.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Philadelphia, May 30, 1827]

I can at last address you from my own country. The agreeable sensations which my return to it produce does not weaken my attachment and gratitude for those whose kindness and affection I have experienced during my absence. . . . We had a passage of 35 days, which is not a long one. The weather was tolerably good but changeable. We had fair winds and foul damp winds and dry winds, warm and cold winds strong and calms, and profited by one of the latter on the banks of Newfoundland to catch

cod-fish. There was but one passenger besides ourselves, an old Quaker lady; fortunately, however, the captain was able to make a fourth hand at whist. . . .

Soon after the return from Europe, George Henry Calvert began his courtship of Elizabeth Steuart, daughter of Dr. James Steuart, a Baltimore physician.<sup>84</sup> The affair caused a complete break with his father, who apparently felt that the son should marry someone with money in order to provide for the future maintenance of the estate, "Riversdale." George left his parental roof and spent the winter in Baltimore.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Baltimore, November 8, 1827]

. . . You recollect my dear Uncle the disappointment I mentioned having received from a lady residing here. I am sure I shall never forget the affectionate sympathy which you showed at my distress. She is still unmarried, more fascinating and more interesting than ever. I love her more devotedly than I did when I went to Europe. My father has told me that he will withdraw from me the means of support if I renew my attentions to her, and has expressed his immovable opposition to my wishes to marry her. Her character and family are such that he can have no objection to her and indeed (with the exception of her want of fortune) he does not even pretend to have any. She is universally belov'd and esteem'd and is distinguished for her intelligence, her disposition, her manners and her loveliness. This is not the exaggerated estimation of a lover but it is the opinion of all who know her. I have not yet ascertained what her feelings towards me are and have no particular reason to suppose them favourable. However whether I succeed with her or not, the effect of the declaration of my father is the same upon me. I have told him that as he was determined to oppose my marriage with any but a rich woman, I should leave him and endeavour to engage myself in some occupation which would maintain me; my hope is that my acquaintance with modern languages will enable me to obtain a situation as correspondent to some mercantile house. . . .

You will readily understand, my dear Uncle, what my situation is. Had I known four or five years ago that wealth in the lady was an indispensable requisite to obtaining my father's consent and that my feelings were not to be a consideration, I should have commenced a profession which would have given me independent maintenance. I now find myself unexpectedly thrown upon my own resources after having been brought up in the expectation that I should have at least a sufficiency independent of my own exertions. I don't know what may be the legal construction of Grand-papa's will, but I can never suppose it was his intention to leave the

<sup>84</sup> The Stuarts were a prominent family and had a large place, "Maryland Square," in west Baltimore, as well as a farm at Sparrow's Point. Another daughter, Margaret, was the first Mrs. John H. B. Latrobe.

children of his daughter at the mercy of so mercenary a consideration. I urge you, my dear Uncle, to give me *prompt and explicit information*. My resolution is irrevocably taken. I have left my father's house. . . .

The final letter in the entire correspondence reveals a happy conclusion to the sudden discord. The father consented to the engagement with Miss Steuart, and George selected journalism as a career. Soon afterwards he became an editor of the *Baltimore American*, and the marriage took place in 1829.

[George H. Calvert to Jean Charles Stier, Baltimore, May 30, 1828]

I was much gratified a few days ago by the reception of your affectionate letter. You had not then received my letter informing you of the fortunate termination of the difference with my father and of my happiness in the accomplishment of my long cherished hopes. Your advice in regard to occupation is entirely in accordance with my own resolutions and wishes. In this country where the freedom of the press and our popular institutions give so much influence to journals and periodical publications of all kinds, a career is open to those who have received a liberal education without having directed their studies to any particular profession. I am at this moment endeavouring to form a connexion with some established journal; an establishment of this kind is capable of being made quite productive, and my acquaintance with French and German enable me to give to such a one some advantage over most others. The produce of the land is so very low in price that there is no inducement to become farmer; and besides my education and tastes make an occupation of a literary character more desirable for me. . . .

You are kind enough to ask me to give you a minute description of Miss Steuart. I don't know whether you will be satisfied with the one I gave you in my last letter. Her eyes [are] of a light hazel color large and clear neither remarkable for extreme softness nor extreme brilliancy but variable and mildly reflecting her thoughts and feelings; her eyebrows and hair are dark of a silky softness and contrast beautifully with the transparent whiteness of her expressive forehead. In her person she is short; her figure is neat and her whole *tournee* remarkably pleasing and graceful. Among strangers she would be always called very pretty, but those who know her are not satisfied with such an everyday expression. . . .

Another generation started its housekeeping, and the Stier strain from Belgium was merged almost completely into the American scene it had first met thirty-one years before.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> George Henry Calvert became a poet and essayist of note. He went abroad for three years, 1840-43, and on his return established his home in Newport, R. I. He served for some time as chairman of the Newport School Committee, and he was Democratic Mayor of the city, 1853-54. He wrote many lyric and narrative poems, delivered public addresses on political and literary themes, and devoted his later years to the translation of old-world culture to the new.

## LETTERS OF THE HAYNIE FAMILY

Edited by DORIS MASLIN COHN

Some eighteenth century letters between two brothers on the Eastern Shore were published not long ago in this Magazine—letters from Dr. Ezekiel Haynie to his brother, Martin Luther Haynie. These men were affectionate brothers and sincerely interested in each other, their families and friends. They had been educated at that famous school on Back Creek, Somerset County, later called the Washington Academy. We felt inclined to praise their resolution to continue reading the classics while we envied their apparent leisure to do so. However, restlessness and ambition went hand in hand in those days as in ours, and Dr. Ezekiel wished to leave Snow Hill for a more active place, while Martin gave up teaching to practice medicine. Along with the correspondence between the brothers were found letters of family and friends which throw further light on them and their age. Since we are once more embarked on war perhaps it will be fitting to start with a Post-Revolution letter from veteran Richard Pindell, Surgeon in the Maryland Line, to his old Mate, Dr. Ezekiel Haynie.<sup>1</sup>

To Doctor Ezekiel Haynie

Snow Hill Worcester County

han'd by  
Mr. Handy.

Hagar's Town Oct. 19th 1790

Dear Sir,

The various occurances that happened during the long & ardent contest we were mutually engaged in for Liberty, and the many habits of intimacy contracted with people from every Clime, are frequently revolved in my mind. When the Endearments of Domestic life, the Bustle of Business afford no Counterpoise,—and the transactions of 79 & 80 being as you observe, the most gloomy Season of the Contest, never failed to bring back to my Remembrance the Placid, Phylosophic & engaging manner of my Friend Doctor Haynie, to whom I was so much indebted for Assistance in the line of his Profession, in the Unhealthy & war-worn Clime of South Carolina, & whose company & conversation always afforded the utmost Satisfaction.

<sup>1</sup> A group of the Haynie letters appeared in this Magazine, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (June, 1941). Some letters of Dr. Pindell, found among the Society's General Otho H. Williams Papers, have been published in Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (Dec., 1923).

The various pursuits of this life, in which every one of us have necessarily taken part, to obtain that Competency so essential to our well being in this world, and which is, or ought to be, the reward of those only, whose exertions to acquire it & be useful to their fellow men are unre-mitted—will I fear prevent that happy renewal of our freindships contracted in the Army & which the establishment of the Cincinnati Society was designed to Obviate—This Institution "how fine in Theory but in practice how Absurd" cannot prevent your Predictions & this gives full form to the Sentiment of the Poet

Of joys departed not to return  
How Painful the Remembrance

Indulging in these reflections, which your letter has excited in a great degree, fill my Soul with sensations & emotions, not in my power to describe, but which affords a pleasing Melancholy.

At the time Mr. Martin [Haynie] was in town, I was so engaged in Practice, which at that time was more extended than it generally is, & my attendance on my Dear Wife in the Straw with her 4th Child, (for like yourselves you may learn that we have not been defective in Procreation) that I could not pay him the respect I wished—and which he was entitled to, as a Genteel Stranger, had he not brought me the first information of my friend Dr. Haynie, by him I should have written you, had he not left Town sooner than I expected, & in my letter you would likely have received some of the same kind of lashing you have bestowed on me for the Omission, tho' am now convinced it would have been improperly done.

I must in the most Summary manner endeavour to give you a sketch of my Adventures & form answers to your Queries, & you must excuse the imperfections of them as Mr. Handy can inform you that I have had but few spare hours since he arrived. After attending a course of Medical Lectures in Phil. in 1783 & 4, I settled here the August following, and experienced much difficulty in getting into business, owing to 2 causes, 1st the Great Number of Phisicians & Physical Pretenders & 2dly to the Inhabitants being chiefly composed of Germans, whose language was unknown to me. I however have persevered with fortitude until a tollerable prospect of living genteely, has made its appearance, but none of becoming Opulent. I have been so frugal as to preserve my finals, which funded, agreeable to the late law of Congress will bring me in about £75 pr Annum Int. this with making a few Hhds. of Tobo. & the rent of a small Farm in Annarundel, will help to make up the deficiencies in the Practice. It would give me infinite Satisfaction, was it in my power to invite you to a good stand for Practice in either of the Counties you Mention, but know of no 10 miles Square in either of them void of many at least Pretenders to Medical knowledge. In the County above us, about Fort Cumberland & Old Town, ther is no regular Physician, & I have no doubt but a tollerable living might be made there, but the rides would be long & of course the Practice very Onerose. The County is lately laid off from this, & the County Town will in time be considerable as it will

be situated somewhere on the Patowmack headwaters. I do not think it however a very inviting position for you at Present, but if you are inclined to view it come over as soon as you can, for you know how Numerous Physicians are becoming. I have never seen Warfield or Rec'd the Scrip of a Pen from him since the beginning of the year 1784, he lives on James River & I have often heard is doing well. There being no direct communication from hence to his neighborhood, or should have endeavored to establish a Correspondance with him, as I also entertain the most friendly Sentiments of him & wish him every happiness.

I am happy to hear all our Army Acquaintances in your Vicinity are in a Respectable & thriving line of life, I esteem them all exceedingly, & especially Ewing whose extreme sufferings have made him more Dear to me as they were more immediately under my Cognizance. Please present them all my best Compts. when you see them.

I am sorry that Denwood, who has one of the Best hearts, should thus idle away the prime of life. I think it high time indeed that he had determined on something—business will be very irksome after such a long habit of inaction.

I can give you but a very defective acct. of the Officers on this Shore, I have not even visited my Own Sister within 70 miles this 2 years—& there are few living in our District. Capt. John Lynn Married—a late Member of Assembly for this County, lives in Cumberland & is a Candidate for the Clerk's Office in the new Coty. David Lynn single, in Montgomery. Mc.Guire of Virga. whom you assisted me in doing by force, what his want of fortitude prevented his submitting to Willingly—has Studied Law & is a very promising young man, lives in Winchester. Tom Price Lately dead of Nervous fever in Loudohn Coty.<sup>2</sup> Old Benny Price a Widower in bad circumstances. Hardman the same Erratic Genius he ever was—Drinks Grog—Chews Tobo. Smoaks—Angles—fowles—Sleeps—Eats & sleeps agan—Single, lives in Fredk. but is often at Gentlemen's Houses in the County. Cpts. Belt & Spurrier Both married my neices live in Elk Ridge Landing—both I hope doing well. Major Brooke a widower become very lusty, lives at Marlbro. Lt. Smith has just passed thru this place on his way to Cumberland to view the lands given the Officers & Soldiers, he tells me that Major Beall & Capt. Mc.Pheron are well, Freeman is at Baltimore—Colo. Mentzer the Inspector passed thru this place to the Western Army & says Freeman has a very fine Company. Mark Mc.Pheron his Lieut. fond of Grog—has been arrested twice by his Capt.<sup>3</sup> His Excellency Genl. Washington, honored this Town with a Short Visit a few Evenings past, all the honors & Respect was paid him that we unpolished back woods-men could invent. Mr Handy can give you particulars.

The land in general given to the Officers & Soldiers above Fort Cumberland are scarcely worth acceptance. These are some Lots that are however

<sup>2</sup> Loudoun County, Virginia.

<sup>3</sup> For identification of nearly all these officers see *Archives of Maryland*, XVIII, 518-522, where the services of officers of the Maryland Line are recorded.



an exception to the general cast—which they are, I have never been able to learn. Those Lots laid out for the Soldiers are (if anything) of better quality. Mr. Smith has several of the Officers Numbers with him & intends to View the Lands particularly, on his return I may be able to give better information, which I will certainly do by the first Oppty. If you will enclose me your numbers I will endeavour to have it ascertained what quality they are of. Smith says he has been offered  $3/9$  per acre for his—they can be purchased here from 4 to 9 Dollars pr. Lott. I will be happy in giving any of them such information as can be acquired if they will enclose me their Numbers.

I have Scribbled on until my letter exceeds the length of yours which I shall not apologize for, expecting that you like myself will catch greedily every sentence & wish form did not prescribe a Single Sheet or so in communications between friends.

I find your Friend Mr. Handy exactly the Gentleman you describe—I have spent some agreeable hours with him, tho not as many as my Inclination craved. I hope however that my Profession will be a sufficient apology.

It will be infinitely pleasing to have a line from you as often as you have leisure—I have so few correspondants that I have almost forgot how to write a letter—I have not time now to say anything on Physic or Surgery.

I have performed several Capitol Operations since I resided here, and all except the last terminated well—The unfortunate one was the Application of the Trepan last week to remove Symptoms of Oppressed Brain brought on by a fractured Skuill with Depression, which had been of too long standing to receive much benefit from the Operation. The Patient died a few days after the Operation.

I am Dr. Sir with the greatest  
Sincerely Your friend & H. Servt.

R. Pindell

Now here is a sprightly Lady! Three years at the frontier of Kentucky have not dimmed her spirit nor slowed her tongue, and her instinct for news transcends her facility for spelling. One wonders if Dr. Ezekiel's answer ever reached her.

[Anne James to her husband's nephew.]

Woodford Kentucky  
25 March 1793

Dr. Sir,

If I have not mistaken my authority, you must be the Gent. who when in your studies of Physic lived with Doctr. Thos James decd. of Charles County Maryland to whom I was wife; and I his widow now living in



the above County in the State of Kentucky. The young Doctr. was the Son of Samuel Haynie who married Judith James sister to the above dec'd Doctr. Should you be the same Gent. & have not entirely forgotten me I will take it a singular favor if you will write to me with information of your health condition &c &c &c.

I have lived in Kentucky almost three years and yet live in a dirty smoaky cabbin, But thank God a plenty of good meat and bread &c. Theresa is married to a James Twyman from Virginia and will live within  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile when he settles. He is a Protestant I believe, tho' I have doubts whether he is anything & I suppose you will wonder how I ever came to give my consent, as you know I was formerly much aversed to such marriages; but the saying is, I gave my consent when obliged. He is a man very fond of talking, but fond as he is I have lately become so very inquisitive & full of talk that I wear his patience intirely out very often. My youngest Son Joseph James is at present at School endeavoring to prepare himself for one of the professional Studies. I have thought of Physic, but he inclines to Law. I will take it a favor for your opinion. If you should write to me and as letters frequently miscarry I'll thank you to write the same thing several times by which means I perhaps shall get your opinion.

My family Join me in love to your & family  
and I am Dr. Sir

Yr. Obt. Servt.

Ann James

Dr. Ezekiel Haynie  
Eastern Shore Maryland  
Mr. Fenwick.

The good Doctor's wife was Betsy Bayly, sister of Josiah Bayly who had gone to Cambridge to practice law. He seems to slightly discourage his brother-in-law from a trek in the same direction. Like the field at Hager's Town, there were too many in the race.

Cambridge Aug, 16 1793

Dear Brother,

Enclosed you will receive answers to the queries contained in your letters. A certain Doct. White has engaged the only vacant house in Town. Birkheads is sold. I mentioned your proposal to Mr. Gordon he has written over to Mr. Crookshanks & has received an answer. Mr. C. says he will take your offer and Mr. Moncrieff is ready to join in the conveyance, Mr. crookshanks had rather that one year should be left from the credit if convenient to you, if not he will take you at your own proposal. I have not yet examined the title papers but am informed by Gordon the title is good. I have the papers in my possession and will examine them when I have leisure.

Miss Ennals who has a life estate in  $\frac{1}{2}$  is about 66 years old, what will you give her for her life estate either as a purchase or rent? Mr Gordon informs me that £150 has been offered for the rent of the whole farm next year, possession will be given next new years day.

3 Doctors are about to settle in Cambridge on hearing of Birkhead's intention of leaving it.

Mr. Gordon wishes you to write me an answer by the first opportunity.

Yours affectionately

Josiah Bayly

Vienna Aug' '21st

Doctor Ezekiel Haynie

Snow Hill

December, 1793, brought a break in the Haynie clan which was far-reaching in its effect. Brother Richard, whose wife had died shortly before, falls victim to the winter winds. A description of this risk of seasonal change has been omitted. Between the brothers Ezekiel and Martin there was often an exchange of thoughtful reasoning as to cause and effect that is too long for these pages. The two infant children of Richard, Martin Jr. and Leah, stayed with "our Old Mamma" until her death when Uncle Martin had the care of them and must have been an harassed over-seer.

Notice at the end of the letter that John Smith's medicine is being delivered by the jugful. Isn't that a sympathetic Doctor! Something of a psychiatrist, as well as adept at bleeding.

Doct. Martin L. Haynie

at Salisbury

by Jacob

Snow Hill 19th dec. 1793

Dear Brother,

The event mentioned in your letter would have been a matter of unfeigned grief to me had I been informed beforehand of its approach, but it was rendered more poignant by the surprise which accompanied the information of it. I knew he was in a bad state of health, but when I saw him at Somerset Court (& I had no information from him since) altho' he seemed to have the Symptoms of a Catarrh yet I had no apprehension for his life, and especially as I knew he had Survived several attacks apparently of the same nature. His death furnishes an additional Instance . . . [torn]. Such persons cannot be too cautious in avoiding too much exposure at the first setting in of Winter. . . .

My distance as it deprived me of attending during his illness and of mingling my Sorrows with those of his other Friends on the occasion of his burial, so it will I hope apologize for my not going up immediately on receiving your letter.

This is a Season of much indispensable engagement at all times with me, and at present I am a good deal occupied with my Practice in addition to domestic cares.

I shall try to get to Somerset the last of this or the first of next week. In the meantime write me by Jacob's return whatever is interesting in the State of the Family.

I have not seen Doct. Purnell for a week & therefore can give no account of your Books. The 3 jugs for John Smith I have directed Jacob to leave with you as also the note directed to him.

Betsy as usual is unwell & I have symptoms of a slight Catarrh.

Affectionately

yr. Brother

E. Haynie.

The following letter of professional advice is given in full for the sake of medical readers; laymen may skip the nauseous doses.

Doct. Martin L. Haynie

Salisbury

by Mr. Fenwick.

Dear Brother,

You sometime ago requested information of my rates of charging, and I should have furnished you with it sooner if I had not hoped to have had it in my power to have accompanied it with some general remarks (the result of Practical Observation) respecting the Pathognomonick or discriminating Symptoms of some of the more abstruse Diseases—principal sources from which curative indications are drawn in them—and means which are most likely to fulfill those indications, with such other hints as my small stock of Medical Ideas would have enabled me to give. Hitherto however I have not enjoyed as much leisure as would be required to complete such a design, and as it may be useful to you to have some sort of directory in the business of charging at your first getting out, I shall set down such articles with my usual Charges annexed as occur at present—what is omitted may be mentioned at another time.

Fees for Visits in Town. If one only to a person who is not a customer 3/9 in day—out of bed at night 7/6. To customers a charge in Gross for attendance according to the trouble & times about 22/6 per week, visits twice a day. Single visits not charged.<sup>4</sup>

In the country. Under 5 miles 7/6, from 5 to 8 miles 10/, from 8 to 10 miles 12/6, from 10 to 12—15/, 12 to 15—20/, 15 to 20 from 25/ to 30/. After which the proportion of charge to the distance is increased, as long absence from home and from neighborhood custom is both disagreeable and disadvantageous. All night Visits double & bad weather is a reason for additional charge. Detention beyond the time necessary to examine the case and give directions also a good ground of

<sup>4</sup> The charges are in shillings and pence.

charge, tho I have not often availed myself of it. It is however done by others.

Emetics—in all forms and of all kinds & for all ages 2/6. Carthartics—generally the same if common dose. Rhou-salts & Manna and perhaps some others will bear a small addition. Tule, Carb. Pow. com. 5/ to 6/. Rub. 8/6 fl. oz. All Febrifuge Powders however compounded if cash Fever Mixtures (of neutralized salts &c) if above 3 or 4 oz. in a vial about 1/. oz. for a small quantity more in proportion—the smallest Vial or a single dose 2/6. Spirit. Volatil—Sal Volital—Nitric Dule—Elix—Paragoric—Laudanum—and all such Medicines 2/6 by the single dose or from 3/9 to 5/ the oz. Tint. Volatil 2/ fl. oz. Tint. Camphorat Saponaceum Tint. Myrrh are about 5/ for a 6 or 7 oz. Vial. Atocic and other Purging Pills about 15d. or 18d. fl. dose—in large boxes about 3d. or 4d. a Pill. Single Pill of any Opium or such like 1/6. Largest Epispassic (such as is applied to the side in Pleurisy) 7/6, smaller to the limbs 3/9, least 2/6. Digestive or other Unguents fl. oz. 2/6. Ung. Mercurial com. 3/9 fl. oz. Venegution in the arm 3/ in feet 3/9. Extractg. Tooth 5/. Openg. Abscess (about) 3/9. Dressing common flesh wd. 2/6 to 3/9. Reducing Dislocations of Do. nearly the same prices. Consultations with one or more Physicians a Guinea—Conference with Do. (a nice distinction applied to slighter cases, where there is no need for a formal consultation, or have been consulted before in the same case) about 7/6 to 17/6. Administering Glyster 5/. Tinct Antiscorbat (Tint. Myrrh with a little Pub. Cort. Peru. & Marine acid added) oz. 5/ elix Vitriol Oz. 3/9 Eliz. Parag. 3 oz. 3/9. Pub. Spermatoti oz. 3/9. Manna oz. 3/9. Ag. Opthal oz. 2/6 Rao. Colomb. oz. 5/ to 7/6.—From these you will easily come pretty near the rate of almost all the other articles. I cannot answer that these are just correspondant to the general charges, but I may safely assert that taken one article with another, they will be found as low as the common & much below many in our part of the Country.

A person from Philadelphia brings papers by which it appears that the Gallic Republicans have completely defeated the Combined Enemy in a very general engagement, the British Army is said to be quite broken up, One Acct. says the Duke of York is carried to Paris prisoner.

I am very anxious to see the particulars by the arrival of the Post on Friday. We are pretty healthy in this neighborhood—there is a family a little way below, ill of the Dysentery a very uncommon Disease at this Season.

Betsy keeps up but is generally complaining. If you wish to write to Phila. Mr. Whittington will be going up next week.

farewell, E. Haynie.

Snow Hill, 22d. Jany. 1794

Esme Bayly, father-in-law of Dr. Ezekiel Haynie, is evidently paving the way for the long talked of move from Snow Hill, and

the chosen place is the Somerset county seat, Princess Anne. Since the Baylys lived on the Wicomico River near Quantico we may well believe the 15 miles to Court were often impossible. It meant ferrying on a small flat boat (a practice still continued, if one takes the old route) a splash through marshy land covered twice a day by tides and then miles through deep sand in pine forest. "Mr. Jackson" has not been identified. "Beckford," the beautiful brick house west of the town limits of Princess Anne, was built by Henry Jackson in 1776 and has been for 50 years in the Dr. Lankford family; in 1812 Charlotte Haynie speaks of "visiting Mrs. Handy in the house my father & mother lived in." This would be the charming frame house opposite the box garden on Main St., the late home of Mrs. John Dale.

Wicomico January 24th 1794

Dear Sir, . . . I delivered your letter to Mr. Jackson, after he read it he said "that he could not think of abating any part of the amount" after a short conversation on the subject I informed him, you would give the £37.10. I requested him to write you a line, which he promised to do by the next Tuesday, but every Tuesday since has been such weather that I have been absent from Princess Anne. He enquired of me when you intended to remove and observed that he must have information in time to prepare himself for removing, and that it would be inconvenient for him to remove before the first of April at any rate. I told him, that I expected the first of April would be as early as you could be ready to take the house, (he mentioned at the close of conversation that he was afraid if his family continued to be sickly as heretofore he should have very little money to receive, this by the by) I have informed you of the conversation between Mr. Jackson and myself, therefore if you think of taking his house at the time mentioned or any other time you will please let him know it, The Garden will be attended to in the same manner as tho' he was to continue, he did say that if you did not take the house he should not think of removing before the Fall. I beg you not to fail writing to him by the first opportunity. On the 13th of this Inst. I sent James B. to Cambridge, by the boy I received a letter from Josiah, he is well & sent 2 books for you, but does not mention any intention of going to Phila. Wm. Dashiell has procured an order on me for £7.10 to be paid you on his account, have not the Cash at present, or should send it by this opportunity. We are in usual health, my tender love to Betsy, and am with great esteem

Your Affectionate

Esme Bayly

Doctr. Ezekiel Haynie  
Snow Hill  
by Mr. Fenwick

With what joy and pride does this letter go forth to beloved Brother Martin and how nice to perpetuate Brother Richard's name, especially as Brother Richard had named his son "Martin L., II." Yet with this same Richard Hambden did the name die. The only son to live to manhood, he followed his father's footsteps and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. As a son of a Revolutionary officer, he became a member of the Washington Association of Philadelphia.

Snow Hill, 6th Feby, 1794

Dear brother,

I take the opportunity by a Negro of Capt. Winder's to tell you that we had a fine Boy born this day week, and that Betsy is as well as is usual, and indeed better than is common to others, or herself on former occasions of the Kind. I have concluded to call him Richard Hambden in order to restore a name to the Family which appears to have been early in use in it, and which is, and I believe will long remain dear to our particular branch of it at any rate with me it is so, and by annexing the name Hambden to point the attention of my son to a Character which appears to me an excellent model of Private and Public Virtue, but chiefly distinguished by an eminent and unshaken zeal for the Civil Rights and happiness of his Country.

I should be glad could you find an early moment to give to our Old Mother this information, for you know with what sincerity & sensibility she participates in everything connected with the wellbeing of her Children and Friends.

. . . We have met with a small misfortune by fire two days ago. Mr. Morris's Smoke-house containing our Bacon as well as his own, fire some how communicated to the meat as it hung (most likely by a piece dropping off the sticks into it) and injured the whole, but it was discovered in time to save the greater part from being so hurt as to be unfit to bring to Table. Perhaps the loss may be estimated at one third of the whole, of which two thirds happened to be his, our loss is consequently about 1/6 of what we had. But it ought not to be mentioned in comparison with the loss sustained by Capt. James Houston who it is confidently reported in Town, has had his Dwelling and almost every other house burned down with very little Salvage even of clothes and bedding. If this account be near the truth with his recourses, the loss is irretrievable. I had thought of requesting you, if convenient to carry Esme up to Mama's but as I expect to bring him home in a short time, it will not be worth while unless it could be done very soon. The poor old creature had requested me to let one of the Children stay with her a while some time this winter.

I think you may take an opportunity to come down and see our Son in a



short time. I do not know if a visit was to be made expressly to him, but folk as insignificant have been shown that much respect.

I am Affectionately

yr, Brother E. Haynie

Doctr. Martin L. Haynie  
Salisbury  
by Capt. Winder's boy

Half way to the Capital, Philadelphia, and no delays. What exciting news he passes back! That city is a seething whirlpool of emotions, Washington is serving his second term as President, Gallic Republicans under Citizen Genêt make noisy uproar, England protests her captured ships being taken there by the French. Which side is America on, or by whom will she be invaded? With it all, as usual the prices of necessities rise. But Mrs. Haynie will have a new chaise for the move to Princess Anne.

Dover 11th March 1794

My Dear Betsy,

I have reached this place without any accident or obstruction. My horse hitherto has performed very well, and the Roads are not to be complained of, tho' they tell me I shall find them worse tomorrow. I hope however to reach Phila. by dinner time on Thursday.

Very interesting news is received here from Phila.—It is said that England has directed her Minister to demand of this Country which side of the question we mean to take in the War, as they are determined we shall remain no longer Neutral and that in consequence, Congress have voted to find 5000 Men on the frontier next Canada and the Lakes, and to put all Harbers in a state of defense. I believe this news may be depended on, and doubt whether it may not affect the prices of Goods so much as to disappoint me in my expectation of getting many of the articles I want, and especially as I hear every mechantile operation is suspended in Philadelphia. Shipping business I mean. I expected it would be an interesting period in Congress, but it will probably be much more so than I had expected. Take my dear, the earliest opportunity to let my brother [Martin] know. I have bespoke a carriage for him in Milford. I have also bespoke a Chaise for you which I have reason to believe will be as cheap and elegant as I could have got in Phila.

My Cold is still, in a slight degree, troublesome, but perhaps not worse than when I left home,—I shall endeavour to hasten my return as much as possible and shall likely anticipate the time I mentioned.

It will gratify my good neighbor, Mr. Morris, to get the above informa-



tion. I wish you, therefore to let him see it. The papers I am told, contain no mention of it.

I am my dear Betsy with  
unceasing Affection & love

E. Haynie

Mrs. Betsy Haynie  
Snowhill

What an upsetting time moving is! Hard to get one's thoughts straight, particularly when one is trying to shop for a brother and influence his decision. A chaise top takes nearly three hundred words and isn't settled, world politics are disposed of in a single sentence. Moving by land meant 25 miles thru the "Forest," that black region at the head of Pocomoke, river of black water. A difficult road for a handsome new chaise. Moving by water meant loading a sail boat at Snow Hill, going down past Steven's Ferry and Rehoboth to the Sound, and, rounding Watkin's point, turning north to the Manokin and so on up past "Clifton," "Almodington" and the other fine houses until the channel narrows through the marshes and the head of navigation was reached at Princess Anne, over 75 miles.

Snow hill 27th Mar. 1794

Dear Brother,

I returned from Philad.a. on Tuesday Evening having made a longer stay than I expected when I left home. On my way up I bespoke a Windsor Chair [chaise] for you, of which I am told you have been informed. If I recollect when you were speaking of getting one you did not mention a Top to it for which reason, and because in my own judgement they are much handsomer and better without, I did not direct a Top to be made to it I however asked him if he could make a Top to it after the other part was done, (as it was possible you might like to have it with one) he said he could. Mr Morris says you want a Top. If you think it absolutely necessary I will write up to him to add a Top before it is brought down, which will delay a fortnight at least longer and add (I think) 10 or 12 Dolls. to the price. I agreed with the Man to make a Chaise for me also, and being desirous to engage custom in this part of the Country he agreed to take off £2.10 from the price of the Stool. I agreed to give him £20. cash and it was to be ready to bring by next Tuesday week. I had engaged the Post to bring it down. On reconsidering it perhaps you may agree to have it without a Top. I should certainly prefer it without, as they are beyond all doubt as ugly as anything can be, and are getting out of use. Perhaps an oilcloth great-coat would be deemed a substitute as convenient and less expensive. But should you determine in favor of a

Top I will write up to him to make one. I obtained nearly all the Articles I intended getting in Phil. most of them at an advanced price. I have not time by this conveyance to say anything on Politics. Col. Handy can tell you all I collected. The first of next week I must begin Moving, tho I have not yet determined whether by land or water. Tell Col. Handy if you see him, that poor Mr. Chaille is nearly in the situation he left him yesterday.

Betsy is so well as to be abroad making her valedictory visits. Moving is a disagreeable thing.

Farewell!

E Haynie

Doct. Martin Haynie

Salisbury . . .

Mr. Smith.

Two years pass without any record to show us how the Haynies fared in their new home. The brothers were close enough to keep in touch by visits. Then in 1796 come the following four family letters that explain themselves and continue the story. Betsy's young brother, Thomas Bayly, attends to commissions en route to Princeton (where he graduated on Oct. 5th, 1797). His father, Esme Bayly, writes with affectionate pride; the older brother, Josiah Bayly, apologizes to brother-in-law Ezekiel for not inviting him to his wedding, and Dr. Ezekiel gives facetious admonitions to student Thomas.

Princeton January 2 1796

Dear Sir,

It is with pleasure that I execute a performance (after having neglected it) which should have been done some time ago, that is writing you word concerning my preceedings about your affairs. I entered Philadelphia the Thursday after my departure from home, and the next day by the assistance of a directory easily found the residence of Mr. Polk who was so indisposed that he was confined to his room, and gave the directions, which you sent for a saddle and accouterments, to the foreman of his shop. Both Friday and Saterdag morning I went down to the wharf which you directed me to, and also to many others & inquired for vessels from any way near Snow Hill, but could hear of none, therefore as I could neither find Mr. Fenwick thought it most expedient to leave directions at Mr. Polk's in order that they might know where and in whose care to send the saddle. The money which you sent was all expended in purchasing the saddle bridle and stirrups, which you will see from the receipt within. The Latin Grammar which you requested me to send is with the saddle.

My delay in Philadelphia was very short, only staying from Thursday evening to Saturday morning, and being entirely unacquainted in the city, had but a poor opportunity of seeing any of those entertaining sights which from report had raised my curiosity. Saturday evening I arrived at

Princeton where I have been confined constantly without the least excursion from the walls of the Colledge except to Church. It gives me great satisfaction and joy that it fell to my good fortune to come to this seminary, which in my judgment is calculated to send forth a well educated Youth, provided they will pay due attention to their studies.

I remain your humble and sincere friend

Thos. Bayly

Doct. Ezekiel Haynie

MARYLAND  
Somerset County  
Princess Anne

per post

Wicomico 5th March 1796

My Dear Son,

Your favour of the 27th December post came safe to hand. Also yours to Dr. Haynie which fully satisfied him. It gives me inexpressable pleasure that you are now placed at the fountain of Science, out of which I hope with Divine blessing that you will draw a plentiful draught. Your Mamma is much better than she was when you left her, though she is yet poorly, your other relations are all pretty well; in my last I hinted that your brother was addressing Miss Lockerman; now can tell you it is concluded on and will take place unless prevented by some unforeseen accident. And as you are entitled to my confidence must acquaint you that your sister Patience is on the eve of marrying Col. Done. Josiah has bought a lot in Cambridge & intends building immediately, his professional practice last year was worth £700 therefore you may take encouragement & pursue your Studies with ardour do not neglect to write me and let me know how you are in health, your progress in College &c.

May the Supreme Being govern guide and keep you in the paths of virtue and bless you is the prayer of

My dear son

Your affect.n. father

Esme Bayly

Salis; 5th Mar.

Mr. Thomas Bayly

Student at

Princeton College  
Post N. Jersey

Easton April 14 1796

Dear Sir,

I received yours by Mr. Dashiell & shall attend to your request with pleasure. I have not yet seen Erskine—but Corner is at present in a State of insanity.

I expect on the 26th instant to be ranked among the number of the grave and sedate—a hope thence forward to become a more useful citizen, & more happy man—from which nothing can preclude me but want of health or poverty. I should be very happy to have had the pleasure of your company & intended to have asked you but Mr. Lockerman has moved in the Country to an old house containing only three rooms, so Mrs. Lockerman has informed me it is out of her power to accommodate company for the want of room, the house is also in bad repair. No person is expected by the family but their own members. I hope my good intentions will supply everything else. We expect to be down next month. My friendship for you in particular made me very desirous to have your personal attendance, but am sorry it cannot be done for the reasons afd. The hurry of business prevents me from enlarging much more fully to you than I have done.

Yours with affection & respect,

Josiah Bayly

Doctor Ezekiel Haynie

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Princess Anne 28th July 1796

Dear Sir,

After looking a long time for a letter from you in vain, and reproaching you very justly for your neglect, I had the satisfaction to receive yours of the 4th of last month. I believe you know that I am pretty rigid and do not readily admit trivial excuses for neglect by which I myself am sufferer. And I had hoped that your acquaintance with my disposition in this respect would have secured to me greater exertions on your part, if it were only to avoid being abused, but I suppose you count upon your close application to your Scholastic duties to stand in the place of Charity in a Religious sense and cover a multitude of venial offences. And I am ready to confess that if any apology would palliate the offence in question it is that. Yet I am not willing to admit that to carry its operation further than as a mere palliative.

As to your barrenness of matter that excuse is wholly inadmissible, unless you suppose that I have no relish for any of the various subjects on which you are daily acquiring new and interesting ideas. To me it would seem that from the nature of your pursuits, your mind must be in a state of plethora (as we speak) and consequently, that you would embrace with eagerness every opportunity of disburthening it. If you will allow me to be a little more grave on the occasion I will tell you that I consider writing letters to intelligent friends as a source of improvement in composition & stile by no means so contemptible as to be unworthy the notice of a Candidate for literary eminence. It gives one an easy (for ease you know is the essence of Epistolary excellence) agreeable and useful exercise to the intellectual powers—assists us in the art of combining our ideas with propriety as well as in forming out stile, and I will add, discharges a duty we owe to our friends. Of some of these reasons I am sure you will

feel the force, and therefore I shall expect to find the benefit of my logic in the effects of it in your future conduct.

Your industrious turn of mind and ambition for distinction have been a source of pleasing anticipation of your future progress, and to your Father (whose ruling passion you know is to see his Sons virtuously distinguished) as well as all your other friends, among whom I think I have some claim to rank myself. We consider them as a sure pledge of your making the utmost advantage of your present means of improvement, as well as an infallible presage of future usefulness.

The regulations of a Seminary which has been under the direction of so many able and zealous heads can scarcely fail to be excellent, and therefore to meet the approbation of all the sober and well-judging Youths in the School. There are in all Schools some idle refractory boys who naturally enough, regard every regulation which imposes diligence or restraint from irregularities as hard and oppressive. And indeed with respect to such the wisest regulations must fail in their object.

Your present Studies, the different branches of the mathematics, form a very large as well as important part of scientifick learning. I am glad to hear that you are pleased with them—and as you seem to me to possess a genius fitted for them I cannot doubt but you will enter to such depths into the principles as to make them your own, and not merely skip along the surface, and to know no more about them in two or three years than of the Chinese hieroglyphicks, as is the case of three out of four of the Graduates of Colleges of my acquaintance. You do well to say to yourself emphatically "now is the time"—! Keep a single eye to this and your point is gained. The prize you are contending for is nothing less than distinction founded on the solid basis of superior attainments and superior usefulness. To a mind impressed and almost absorbed as yours is by so noble an Object any sacrifice of ease pleasures or amusements will not deserve a moments concern. Leave these to those ignoble and worthless beings who are content to grovel in obscurity and linger out a life of insignificance, and who see not that this is precisely the time in this infant but rising Nation to do anything a man pleases by industry. I often reflect how much the crisis favors the gratification of such views as yours but I have not time to place the enchanting prospects which the scene before you affords, in your view your own contemplations will do it better.

We have seen the speech delivered by Forsyth on the 4th July if it is Doct Smith's composition it is unworthy of his pen. I could make many criticisms, but admit that it is easier to find fault than to excell. The concluding Oath however, is in my opinion, to say the least, an ill judged mimicry of Treilhards speech in the assembly of France. There is something in it too violent for the calm state of things and the sober turn of mind in this country.

That the present President's System of Moral Phylsophy should superseed that of Withers . . . [page torn]

I felicitate you on your good luck in . . . The sum you mention will

buy you . . . -rable library. But you are speculating . . . lottery where I hope you will draw . . . inestimable prize. I think Esme . . . -king a pretty good progress in the Latin he . . . fond of school. Your Father has . . . told you of your brother and sister's marriages.

Your Mother had a pretty bad attack of fever some days ago, but has gotten better again. The rest of your friends are I believe well.

From what your Father mentioned to me I expect the pleasure of seeing you this Fall.

Betsy sends her love to you as usual as does also

Your Affectionate

Ezekiel Haynie

Mr Thomas Bayly  
Student at Princeton  
College  
New Jersey  
via Post 12 $\frac{1}{2}$

## LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, June, 1943, page 191)

Gent<sup>t</sup>

Inclosed I send you the first of Mr Robert Lloyds Bills of Exchange on yourselves for five hundred and forty Eight Pounds Ten Shillings and five Pence Sterling which Please to Carry to the Credit of My Account.

I am Gentlemen yr M<sup>h</sup>le Servant

Maryland August 26<sup>th</sup> }  
1768 }

C. Carroll

To Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and James }  
Anderson }  
Merchants in London }

⌘ Capt. Richardson

⌘ Captain Smith

Gentlemen/

I have Lodged at Wye Ready for Mr Lachlan against he arrives Nineteen Tons of Bar and Eleven Tons of Pig Iron which will be Shipped in his Ship to you as I may not have hereafter Good opportunitys for writing for Insurance on him I now Desire you will make it on his Ship for me in Case of Loss for Three hundred and forty Pounds sterling. I sent you by Captain Richardson in Mr Graves Employ and by Captain Smith in Mr Buchanans Employ the first and second of Mr Robert Lloyds Bills Drawn Payable to Mr Matthew Tilghman on yourselves and by him Endorsed to me for five hundred forty Eight Pounds Ten shillings and five Pence Sterling which shall be Glad you<sup>l</sup> Let me Know by the first opportunity whether Come to Hand I Do not Doubt there being Good and shall have occasion to Draw on you to Mr Nicholas Maccubbin for about two hundred Pounds Sterling and to Mr Clem<sup>t</sup> Brooke our Clerk at the Baltimore Works for one hundred Pounds Sterling for my share of our Company Goods besides some other small Bills for Quit Rents and Clerks Salaries in all to the amount of about one hundred Pounds Sterling which Please to pay as they Come to Hand

Send me also by the first Ship the Contents of the undermentioned Invoice. My wife Desires her Cousin will make Choice of



the Cotton, or silk and Cotton mentioned or what ever she sends Her for a Gown as it is for her own winter wear.

The Large waiter I write for she Calculates will Hold Eight or Ten Tea Cups and Saucers and is for a Tea Waiter The small one is to stand in the middle of a Table to support a Dish as the Cross or X Lamps do not suit well must have a Genteel Cup or Pillar of Like the Glass stands used for Deserts. The Cups are for Drinking small Beer or Rhenish. Glasses are Continually Breaking in my Invoice of the 21<sup>st</sup> of July I wrote for Quarter Chests of Lemons only. They Half Rotted before we Could use them. But now we have away of making Shrub that will Keep and I Desire you will send me half Chests one by your first ship in the Spring, the other by your Last in the fall, Those you sent me by Criamer were half Pillaged out of the Chest thro' what they Called a Rat Hole. So I Desire they may Come by your own ships or one you Can Trust our best Compliments to attend you all

I am Dear Sirs you Most H<sup>ble</sup> Servant

Annapolis Maryland }  
September 24<sup>th</sup> 1768 }

C. Carroll

To Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and }  
James Anderson Merch<sup>ts</sup> }  
in London }

⌘ Captain Craimer  
November 19<sup>th</sup> 1768  
⌘ Capt. Nicholson via Bristol

- 1 Piece of very Good Printed Cotton or Silk and Cotton that will be Proper for winter wear If Printed Cotton sent it is desired to have a Coloured Ground
- 10 yards of narrow Edging Proper for Trimming fine White Humhums
- 2 Tea Table Cloths of Stamped or Painted Silk or Gause for Covering a Table of China that stands in a Parlour
- 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  square Diaper Table Cloths
- 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  Do Do
- 1 Fashionable Genteel Large Silver Waiter or Salver Seventeen or Eighteen Inches in Diameter or over, not thick Chased all over but a Genteel Light Sprig Round only and Coat of Arms in Middle one Plain Ditto about Eight or Nine Inches in Diameter or over This must be Cup or Pillar footed as it is for the Middle of a Table
- 4 Do half Pint Cocoa nut shaped Drinking Cups Cup footed without Handles Gold Gilt Insides  
Coat of Arms or Crest on all Plate

September 28<sup>th</sup> 1768 ⌘ Captain Craimer

Novem<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1768 ⌘ Capt. Nicholson via Bristol with a Letter for John Morton Jordan Esq<sup>r</sup>

Sir

I shall be Glad if you Can Dispose of the Land we have Taken up in Partnership If Ready money Cannot be Got for it I am willing you should sell on Bond and I suppose Mr Ghiselin will agree to the same I will abide by any Bargain you shall make. But shall not be willing that the Land should be sold under Sixty or fifty Pounds  $\text{£}$  hundred Acres as much more as you Please

I am Sir your M<sup>hble</sup> Servant

Charles Carroll

Annapolis November  
10<sup>th</sup> 1768  
To Mr Henry Griffith }

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Gent/

I Have Shipp<sup>d</sup> you in your Ship the May Captain Henry McLachlan now in Wye River Nineteen Tons of Bar and Eleven Tons of Pig Iron and Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Ship There and thence to London that in Case of Loss for three hundred and forty Pounds Sterling

I have wrote before for this Insurance before McLachlan Arrived as the Iron was Lodged Ready for him and now take this opportunity to London as he is Arrived and the Iron on board

I am your M<sup>hble</sup> Servant

Charles Carroll

Annapolis November  
25<sup>th</sup> 1768 To Mess<sup>rs</sup>  
William and James Anderson }  
Merchants in London } November 26<sup>th</sup>  $\text{£}$  Capt McNabb

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Dr Sirs/

By Captain McLachlan you will Receive Nineteen Tons of Bar and Eleven Tons of Pig Iron and a Certificate of the same being Plantation made. I have not as usual Inclosed the Certificate to you but sent it to Mr Lloyd to Give to him as I think Love told my Clerk that it was necessary to shew it to the officers at Clearing out the Vessel.

My wife in our Invoice of the 21<sup>st</sup> of July wrote for Sixteen yards of blue mantua Silk or Lutestring if these Reaches you time Enough, make the Quantity nineteen yards. She also in Her Letter to her Cousin Desired that the woman we wrote for should understand something of Clear Starching and Serving But as we want her Principally for a Housekeeper her understanding Cooking Pickling &c will be more Material. So that if it be Dificult to meet with one that may understand the Clear Starching and at the same time the Cooking &c. She Desires you will not Let that be any objection but send her a Good orderly Cleanly woman that will do for the Managing Her Kitchen and Housekeeping.

Our Streets are bad for Carriages at Night Desire you will send me in half a Dozen Links such as Footmen Carry behind Coaches, our Compliments attend all with you

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir your M<sup>h</sup>ble Servant

Charles Carroll

Maryland December 15<sup>th</sup> 1768  
To Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and James  
Anderson Merchants in London

Sent ☿ Mr Peregrine Tilghman  
to Capt. Henry McLachlan  
☿ Thomas Williams

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Gent/

I am now about Breaking the Pipe of wine I Received from you in 1767 the flavor of it I think Good in Kind. But I fear Tho' I hope I may be mistaken it may be Rather too Hard for me as the very Dry wine are in General too Harsh for my Stomach which the Soft Silky Balsamic wines suit better

I must now Desire you will by the first opportunity send me in my Annual Pipe of the Prime Kind Last mentioned Soft Smooth and Balsamic the older the Better as the Quality may be better Judged of tho' if a Pipe of the Last Vintage that may be as much Depended on it will suit me as well

Shall be Likewise obliged if youl send me the Lemon Trees and Grape vines I mentioned in mine of the 13<sup>th</sup> of April 1768 ☿ Captain Cook The vines sent were when they arrived too far Gone to Strike out Fresh Root As I Chuse to Risk as Little as

Possible be Pleased to make Insurance on my wine always. For the Cost of the wine &c. be Pleased to Draw on Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and James Anderson Merchants in London and send the Inclosed Letter.

I am Gentlemen your Most H<sup>ble</sup> Servant

Charles Carroll.

Annapolis Maryland }  
February 28<sup>th</sup> 1769 }

To Mess<sup>rs</sup> Scott Pringle Cheap and Co }  
Merchants Madiera }

⌘ Captain Thomas  
Walker in M<sup>r</sup> Roberts  
Sloop

March 29<sup>th</sup> 1769

---

Gent

I have of this date wrote to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Scott Pringle Cheap and Company Merchants Madeira to send me a pipe of wine for the Cost of which I have Directed them to Draw a Bill on you which Please to Pay and Charge the same to my account

I am Gentlemen your M<sup>h</sup>le Servant

Chas. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland }  
February 28<sup>th</sup> 1769 }

To Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and James Anderson }  
Merchants in London }

⌘ Capt. Tho<sup>s</sup> Walker  
in M<sup>r</sup> William Roberts  
Sloop

March 29<sup>th</sup> 1769

---

Gent/

I shall be obliged if you will send me by the first opportunity that may offer the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice which as they are for my own Family use I would have of the very best of their kinds, they must be Landed at Annapolis and Insured so that in Case of Loss I may Recover the value of them

Be Pleased to Draw on Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and James Anderson

Merchants in London for the Cost and Charges on them and  
send the Inclosed Letter

I am Gentlemen your M<sup>h</sup>ble Servant

Charles Carroll

Annapolis March 17<sup>th</sup> 1769

To Mess<sup>rs</sup> Lux and Potts

Merchants Barbadoes

⌘ Mr Potts

Gent/

I have of this date wrote to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Lux and Potts Merchants in Barbadoes to send me in some Commodities from their Island the Costs and Charges of which will I suppose Come to Between Twenty and Thirty Pounds Sterling for which I have Directed them to Draw on you which Draft be Pleased to Pay when it Comes to Hand and Charge the Same to

Gent. your Most H<sup>ble</sup> Servant

Chas. Carroll

Annapolis Maryland }

March 17<sup>th</sup> 1769 }

To Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and James Anderson

Merchants in London

⌘ Mr Potts

Invoice of Sundrys sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Lux and Potts Merchants in Barbadoes Dated the 17<sup>th</sup> March 1769  
Marked

- |    |                                                                               |   |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| 4  | 1 Barrel best Clayed Sugar                                                    |   |
| )( | 1 D <sup>o</sup> Muscovado D <sup>o</sup> of the Common Sort but Dry and Good |   |
| XX | 1/2 hundred best Small Coffee                                                 |   |
|    | 1 Hundred Gallons of best Molasses Light Coloured & Rich                      |   |
|    | 2 Quarts best Simple Distilled orange Flower Water such as is                 | } |
|    | Generally used in Cookery in Pint Bottles well Corked and waxed               |   |
|    | 2 Quarts Citron Water in Pint Bottles                                         |   |
|    | Twenty Gallons oldest and Richest Cane Spirit in Good Iron                    | } |
|    | bound Kegg                                                                    |   |
|    | one Hh <sup>d</sup> Good Rum                                                  |   |

⌘ Mr Potts

Gent/

I shall Ship you on Board your Ship the Lord Baltimore Captain Mitchel Twenty Tons of Pig and five Tons Bar Iron be Pleased to make Insurance for me on the said Vessell for one Hundred and Eighty Pounds Sterling

I am Gentlemen your M<sup>h</sup>ble Servant

Annapolis Maryland }  
June 16<sup>th</sup> 1769 }

Charles Carroll

To John Morton Jordan Esquire  
and Company  
Merchants in London

To Goe in Captain Love  
and Woodford

Gent/

I have Shipped you in your Ship the Betsey Capt Love twelve Tons of Bar and Thirteen Tons Pig Iron I Desire that you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessel that In Case of Loss I may Draw the sum of Two hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling I have wrote to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Henry Hill and Company and to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Scot Pringle and Company Merchants at Madeira to send me in a Pipe of Wine Each and to Draw on you for the Value which Drafts be Pleased to Pay as they Come to Hand. I have also wrote to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Potts and Lux Merchants at Barbadoes to send me in Commodities of their Island, to the amount of about twenty five Pounds Sterling and to Draw on you for the sum which be Pleased to pay when it Reaches you I shall I believe have occasion to Draw on you Payable to M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Maccubbin for about two hundred Pounds Sterling which Pay when the Draft Reaches you. The Goods ☿ Love I have Received Safe but hear nothing of the woman we wrote to you about for a Housekeeper

I am Gent your most H<sup>ble</sup> Servant

Maryland April 12<sup>th</sup> }  
1769 }

Chas. Carroll

To Mess<sup>rs</sup> William and James Anderson }  
Merchants in London }

☿ Capt  
Fitzherbert for  
Bristol

April 20<sup>th</sup> ☿ Capt. Elliott  
out of Miles River for London  
Sent from the Collector's office

[End of letters. Here follows, after a blank page, the text of the "Act for the Encouraging the Importation of Pig Iron &c" of June 24, 1750. Since this is readily available in official text, the letter-book copy is omitted. The transcript of Tasker's letter below and the succeeding notes on the iron trade conclude the entries in the last of Carroll's extant letter-books.]

The Grand Dam of Silver Heels was out of a mare Lord Tankerville gave to old Colvill, she was got by a barb Lord Baltimore Procured out of the Kings Studd and sent over to this Country

his Dam was got by old Spark, Spark Cost the prince of Wales three hundred Guineas he was given by the prince to Lord Baltimore he was got by Aleppo a son of the Darley Arabian that was the sire of Childers his Dam was full sister to Mr Bathursts look about you, Silver Heel's sire is Called Tayloes Traveller Bred by Mr Crofts, Mr Bladen got his Pedigree and Mr Crofts's opinion of him by my Desire, I will send it to you when I Come from Belair it being now there Traveller was got by Mr Crofts old Partner

B. Tasker Junr

February 12<sup>th</sup> 1760

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Mem<sup>o</sup> Dimensions of Barr Iron given by Cap<sup>t</sup> Judd in June 1752 from an Anchor maker of Reputie[?] vid<sup>i</sup>

$\frac{3}{4}$  Inch Square the Most thereof

$\frac{7}{8}$  Inch Square

1 Inch D<sup>o</sup>

2 Inch Flatt & Narrower but no thickness Described

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Mem<sup>o</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1752 N<sup>o</sup> 1 sent to Mr Fortergil p<sup>r</sup> Letter to Mr is the oar on Iron Hill near to Mr Wagoners and is in those Barrens Common towards Conagochig  
N<sup>o</sup> 2 is the Common Mountain ore near Clarks & between the Mountains.

N<sup>o</sup> 3 is our Dwarf oak with the oakcorns

N<sup>o</sup> 4 is the Substance that Drops from the Top of the Cave in the Mountains near [The last word is illegible. The copyist has rendered it *Clarks*, but there is ample room for doubt.]

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Soul of a Nation.* By MATTHEW PAGE ANDREWS. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1943. 378 pp. \$3.50.

Dr. Matthew Page Andrews has expanded the first one hundred pages, approximately one-sixth, of his *Virginia: The Old Dominion* into a volume of three hundred pages in his recent *Soul of a Nation*. With sufficient elbow room, he has been able to treat the first seventeen years of the history of the Virginia colony with a most satisfying fulness and variety of details. He has indeed covered those trying years in the founding of Jamestown with such completeness and painstaking scholarship as to have produced what deserves to be called a definitive work. With remarkable skill he has, in the main, kept the scholarly props concealed behind the scenes, and has written with clarity and forcefulness an extremely interesting human story, in which pathos and humor both abound.

The reader will be astonished at the size of Virginia under the Raleigh Patent, as set forth by Dr. Andrews; and will be interested in the relationship which existed between Raleigh's "Lost Colony" and the establishment of the Jamestown settlement. He will be convinced by Andrews that the projectors and founders of the Virginia colony, though they were practical hard-headed realists, were motivated by altruistic and religious feelings with regard to both the settlers and the Indians, and that they desired to transplant to this side of the Atlantic the best political and social institutions of England; such as a representative form of government and ample educational opportunities. Dr. Andrews has thus been the first to demonstrate clearly that the Pilgrims did not enjoy a monopoly in idealism. The reader will also approve the way the author strips some of the robes of romance from Captain John Smith, and reveals a creature not so heroic as he portrayed himself in his own writings. Worthy of great praise are the portraits of the men and women that emerge from the pages of the book. The extraordinary Indian Princess Pocahontas becomes at long last a human being as does her gruff old father, and one feels that it was not incongruous that John Rolfe should have fallen in love with her and married her. Just as human seem Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir George Yeardley, Governor John White, and the many others, distinguished and otherwise, who contributed to the ultimate success of the great venture in the wilderness.

There are many dramatic episodes in this story. One of the most thrilling is entitled "The Bermudian Interlude." This relates how the squadron of nine vessels under the command of Sir George Somers, bearing colonists to Virginia, encountered a hurricane in the West Indies, which scattered the ships and wrecked the flagship *Sea Venture* on the coral reefs off the Bermudas. Andrews very properly makes much out of the part that shipwreck played in Shakespeare's writing the *Tempest*. Another striking event happened on June 18, 1610, when the disheartened, famine-stricken

survivors at Jamestown, who had embarked on shipboard to return to England, met Captain Edward Brewster a few miles down the river with the news that Lord Delaware had arrived with supplies and more colonists. By this timely event the colony was saved from abandonment. Most tragic of all is the account of "The General Massacre," in which more than four hundred men, women, and children met a bloody death from a concerted attack by the Indians. This constituted about one third of the population. As deadly perhaps as the Indian menace, which hung always over the colony like the sword of Damocles, was what the colonists called "The Summer Sickness"; in vain the physicians fought the disease, probably malaria, which finally led to the transfer of the colony to the more healthful site at Williamsburg. But the life of the settlers at Jamestown was not altogether one of hardship, famine, danger, and disease. In due time the land yielded bountifully. Andrews dwells upon the plentiful crops of corn and potatoes and the vineyards which filled the wine casks. Tobacco, in particular, brought wealth to the planters; this encouraged other colonists to come across the Atlantic and the successful colonization of Virginia was assured.

Readers of the *Soul of a Nation* will look forward eagerly for the publication of the second volume of this definitive history of Virginia.

CHARLES LEE LEWIS

*United States Naval Academy*

*Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana, 1836-1846, as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. xvi, 457 pp. \$5.00.

This book will be opened by many people who, finding the promise of its title unfulfilled by any lush memoirs in the conventional deep-Southern manner, will lay it down in disappointment. To do so will be a mistake. This diary of Bennet Barrow, a planter of West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, covering the decade between 1836 and 1846, is the most significant document of its place and period that this reviewer has come across. In its day-to-day entries it gives a complete and realistic description of the slave-ridden life on a great cotton plantation. The magnolias and mocking-birds are there, but only by implication; the pickaninnies swarm, but they are seen through the anxious eyes of an owner trying to bring them through innumerable hazards to a profitable maturity. It was a fortunate thing for students of the agricultural and social history of this period that the manuscript of the Diary fell into the hands of Dr. Edwin Adams Davis, of the Department of Archives of Louisiana State University, who has provided it with a long analytical introduction almost as interesting as the Diary itself. In fact, the introduction might be read in place of the Diary by any one lacking time and patience to plow through Bennet's crabbed, unformed sentences.

In taking such a short cut, however, one would miss the remarkable self-portrait of the planter, who stands out as solid and three-dimensional as a character from one of Fielding's novels. Bennet Barrow seems a much simpler organism than his contemporaries of Virginia and South Carolina. His formal education is a thin veneer; he seems incapable of formulating generalities, and self-searching is almost unknown to him, save on one occasion when he is shocked into introspection by the illness of his wife. His really happy moments come in the field, with his hunting dogs, or at the race track. Although he is an energetic, progressive farmer, he often loses the fruit of hard work through carelessness, and again and again he is victimized by rascals who induce him to endorse their notes. He has a code of living, however, and tries sturdily to live up to it in his relations with his family, his friends and his two-hundred-odd slaves.

J. G. D. PAUL

*Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer: His Earlier Career.* By ERIC F. GOLDMAN. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. 150 pp. \$1.50.

This doctoral dissertation is an incomplete study of the career of the one Bonaparte in America who achieved prominence, published in its present state because there is no prospect of the author being able to continue the work. The result is a narrative which comes to an abrupt end in 1906, when Charles J. Bonaparte was transferred from his post as Secretary of the Navy to that of Attorney General. There is a brief Epilogue which is by way of a conclusion, but it is rather unsatisfactory; and one regrets the unfinished condition of the book.

The most interesting portion of the study is the first chapter, in which Mr. Goldman traces Bonaparte's early life and gives a characterization of the man. The author presents material which establishes well his subject's position as a "patrician reformer," "a moralist favoring an aristocracy for the good of the democracy." This is the part which will attract the attention of Marylanders who enjoy glimpses of the past and those who remember Bonaparte as one of Baltimore's outstanding citizens.

The rest of the volume consists of detailed accounts of Bonaparte's service as a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, as special assistant in the prosecution of postal frauds, as investigator of conditions in the Indian Territory, and as Secretary of the Navy. Every happening which touched Bonaparte is described at length, emphasizing the closeness of the Baltimorean to President Theodore Roosevelt. One phase which concerns Maryland particularly is the appointment of W. Hall Harris as Postmaster of Baltimore, Bonaparte's share in the surprise selection, and the cyclone created by it among the politicians.

Mr. Goldman has based his work on the Bonaparte Papers in the

Library of Congress, and every statement is very thoroughly documented. A Bibliographical Note discusses other manuscript collections used, and there is a section concerning the sampling of newspapers. Nowhere is there any indication that the Bonaparte Papers at the Maryland Historical Society were consulted.

An error is made in placing the Bonaparte home in Baltimore on the southeast corner of Park Avenue and Centre Street (p. 13), when actually it was on the northeast corner.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

*The Maryland Scene: Events, People and Places Contributing to the Story of the State.* By CHARLES T. DUVAL. Baltimore: the author, 1943. 368 pp. \$2.00.

Here, if ever there was one, is a labor of love. Mr. Duvall is a member of a family which has been established in Maryland for nearly three hundred years and which has produced many notable men and women. With such a background it is natural that Mr. Duvall should have an unusual affection for his native State; and it is natural, too, that he should desire to express that sentiment in a striking and substantial manner. His method of doing so has been to write a book about Maryland, to tour the State making photographs to illustrate the book, to set it in type himself and to sponsor its publication!

Surely, then, "The Maryland Scene" is unique in the publishing annals of Maryland.

It was Mr. Duvall's choice to write the text of his book in versified form. In view of the author's statement in his preface that he was not undertaking to write a serious historical work but was intent only upon gathering "the more notable happenings, characters and features of our State" and putting them "into brief, readable forms," his decision to write in verse was clearly justified. The poetical form of the text has the effect of pointing up and adding emphasis to the subjects about which he writes.

No doubt Mr. Duvall will agree, however, that the photographs are what make the book. There are 470 of them, made in every corner of the State. Nearly every one is excellent; a few come close to being works of art—as, for example, the springtime view of Herring Run with its rippling water and the deep, rich tones of the feathery trees in the background. Most of Mr. Duvall's pictures, however, are strictly utilitarian views of buildings, bridges, monuments and natural objects. Such an amazing collection of pictures has never before, very likely, been assembled in Maryland. The surprising thing about it is that Mr. Duvall says the pictures were made not with expensive photographic equipment, but with a small hand camera of the Kodak type.

To make this array of photographs Mr. Duvall and his wife traveled about the State at intervals during the years 1932 to 1941. The type for

the book was set by Mr. Duvall during 1936 to 1942. Bound attractively in yellow and black, the book stands as a monument to Mr. Duvall's patience, industry and interest in Maryland. It is the author's impressive tribute to his native State.

JAMES C. MULLIKIN

*Proceedings of the Clarke County Historical Association.* Vol. II. [Berryville, Virginia: The Association.] 1942. 56 pp.

These Proceedings report the interesting work of a recently organized County Historical Association. Virginia is a mine of historical material; but the Virginians have been poor miners. As a result, Virginia history all too often consists largely of a repetition of the record of well known events, together with fanciful surmises; these latter being repeated so often as to become at last "history." All Virginia needs is a painstaking effort to gather the materials, and then their proper presentation as a whole in a history which would authentically reveal a unique and interesting episode in the affairs of this world.

The Portraits Committee of the Association has done notable work and owns negatives of a number of the portraits; 346 of which are listed in these Proceedings. The map of the Original Grants and Early Landmarks in what is now Clarke County by Curtis Chappelear is an extremely valuable addition to Virginia history. Indian artifacts from the vicinity of North Hill, presented by Maurice Castleman (p. 5), and those referred to in Kennerly's "Early Days" (p. 55), call attention to the fact that but little archaeological work has been done in the Valley of Virginia.

"Early Settlers in Clarke County East of the Blue Ridge" (p. 47), dealing largely with the "Manor of Leeds" is an example of painstaking historical work. It appears that John Fishback of Fauquier County, claimed "Calmes Neck," a tract of 128 acres on the east side of the Shenandoah. These Fishbacks were one of the German mining families from Westphalia, brought by Governor Spotswood to work at his iron mines at Germanna. John Fishback et al. acquired 1805 acres of Fairfax land by grant from "King" Carter (Fairfax's agent), and this may have been the basis of his claim.

A real historical determination of why the settlers came to what is now Clarke County, the routes by which they came, their every-day employments and activities, would be of importance. In addition to the grist mills, the story of the Tilt-Hammer mill should be fully written, and the local activities of the merchants and artisans described.

It appears (p. 31) that Colonel Fielding Lewis filed an account against one of the reviewer's ancestors for a tombstone. It is not to be supposed that the Colonel was in the tombstone business as a regular activity. But the tombstone is to be found in the "Old Chapel" graveyard. It is of the old, flat kind and made by an artisan of ability. Who was he?

In Kennerly's "Early Days" (p. 55) reference is made to the old bell at Greenway Court. A great uncle of the reviewer's, in 1894 published

an article, "The Shenandoah Valley—Some Notes of an Octogenarian." In it he refers to this bell and adds, "This bell now graces the locomotive 'Fairfax' on the Shenandoah Valley Railroad." *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

To conclude, what more important contribution could be made to historical justice by this particular Historical Association than to see that the County's name is properly spelled and thus correct an error for which others are responsible. The County was named in honor of General George Rogers Clark. He was one of the truly great military heroes of the Revolution. With a vigorous mind and a lion's heart, he was able to organize and discipline a body of unruly pioneers and to crush the British and Indians in what is now Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Association should have in its library the "George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781," published by the Illinois State Historical Library in 1912.

WALTER H. BUCK

*Calendar of Maryland State Papers. No. 1. The Black Book.* (Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 1.) [1943.] 297 pp. \$1.00.

This guide gives the contents of 1588 State papers, most of them falling in the period, 1740-1770. Every name mentioned is listed, as well as useful data on the type of manuscript, its location in the eleven volumes of the Black Book series, and references to the places of publication in the cases of those which have appeared in print. When it is noted that three-fifths of the material has never been published, it is possible to realize the value of the Calendar to all students of Maryland colonial history. The three-part index consists of a complete guide to names and places, a briefer history of the principal subjects discussed, and a "finding list" to correlate the calendar numbers and the Black Book numbers.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records.* [Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1943.] 28 pp.

*Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to Alexander's Weekly Messenger.* By CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM. (Reprinted from *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1942.) Worcester, Mass.: the Society, 1943. 83 pp. Gift of author.

*A Nineteenth-Century Medical School: Washington University of Baltimore.* By GENEVIEVE MILLER. (Reprinted from *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XIV, No. 1, June, 1943.) 29 pp. Gift of author.

*Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society*, Vol. III, 1942-1943. Charlottesville, Va.: the Society, 1943. 86 pp. Exchange.

*The Old Virginia Gentleman and Other Sketches.* By GEORGE W. BAGBY. 4th ed. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1943. 308 pp. \$3.50. Gift of publisher.



- Some Rare Old Books on Conjuring and Magic.* By HENRY RIDGELY EVANS. [Kenton, Ohio: International Brotherhood of Magicians, 1943]. 21 pp. Gift of author.
- The Present State of Virginia, and the College.* By HENRY HARTWELL, JAMES BLAIR and EDWARD CHILTON. Edited by H. D. FARISH, Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1940. 105 pp. \$2.75. Exchange.
- Benvenuto Cellini Had No Prejudice Against Bronze.* Letters from West Africans. Edited by ANNA MELISSA GRAVES. Baltimore: the author, 1943. 176 pp. \$2.00. Gift of editor.
- Early Days of the Wild West.* By WILLIAM A. MILLER. Washington, D. C.: the author, 1943. Gift of author.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES

### THE SOCIETY AT ITS ONE HUNDREDTH MILESTONE

Plans for observing the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Maryland Historical Society were announced in the November issue of *Maryland History Notes*. There will be a large general meeting on or about February 1, 1944. For this occasion a speaker of wide reputation is being sought. This will be followed shortly by the regular February meeting of the Society, which is the Annual Meeting, at which the Centennial theme will again predominate. Plans are also being laid for a series of afternoon meetings to be devoted to informal talks on American arts and crafts, during February and March.

The Council has authorized the publication of a booklet to contain the history of the Society and a brief descriptive guide to our collections. Mr. Gilman Paul is writing the historical sketch and the preparation of the guide is in the hands of the Society's staff.

The Committee on the Gallery has arranged for a major exhibition on the first floor of the main building. The two east rooms will be thrown together by removing the temporary partition which now separates them, and many choice pieces from our various collections will be assembled in these rooms to represent a Maryland parlor and dining room of a hundred years ago. Since the recommendation of the Gallery Committee involves the redecoration of three rooms, which will be in the nature of a permanent improvement, the Council has approved the plan and appropriated the necessary funds. The portraits of the founders of the Society, the original records and curious relics of the early days of its existence will be shown in another special exhibit.

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*S. Teackle Wallis*—I am preparing for publication a group of letters of Severn Teackle Wallis and should like to see any of his correspondence in private hands, with a view to possible loan for the purpose mentioned.

FREDERICK J. SCOTT, S. J.

Loyola High School, Towson, Md.



*Townsend*—Who were the parents of Rhoda Townsend (daughter of John) who married John Houston of Delaware before 1730. Her mother may have been a Littleton.

Mrs. IDA M. SHIRK  
Box 1717, Washington D. C.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Miss JOSEPHINE FISHER is a native of Baltimore, the holder of the Ph. D. degree in history from Bryn Mawr College and is at present a civilian employee of the United States Navy. ☆ Also a native product is Sergeant MILBOURNE CHRISTOPHER, of the Special Service Command, U. S. A. A magician of parts, he had completed several tours to foreign countries before his talents were invoked for soldier entertainment in distant lands. ☆ LOUIS DOW SCISCO, possessed of unusual knowledge of Maryland's land records, has been a not infrequent contributor to these pages. He has been co-editor of several volumes of the *Archives of Maryland*. ☆ WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., of the Society's staff, is the editor of *Maryland History Notes*. ☆ From a considerable collection of papers and letters handed down through her family, Mrs. DORIS MASLIN COHN, of Princess Anne, Md., has selected those printed herein as a second installment to illustrate the living conditions and prevalent ideas of the post-Revolutionary period.

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